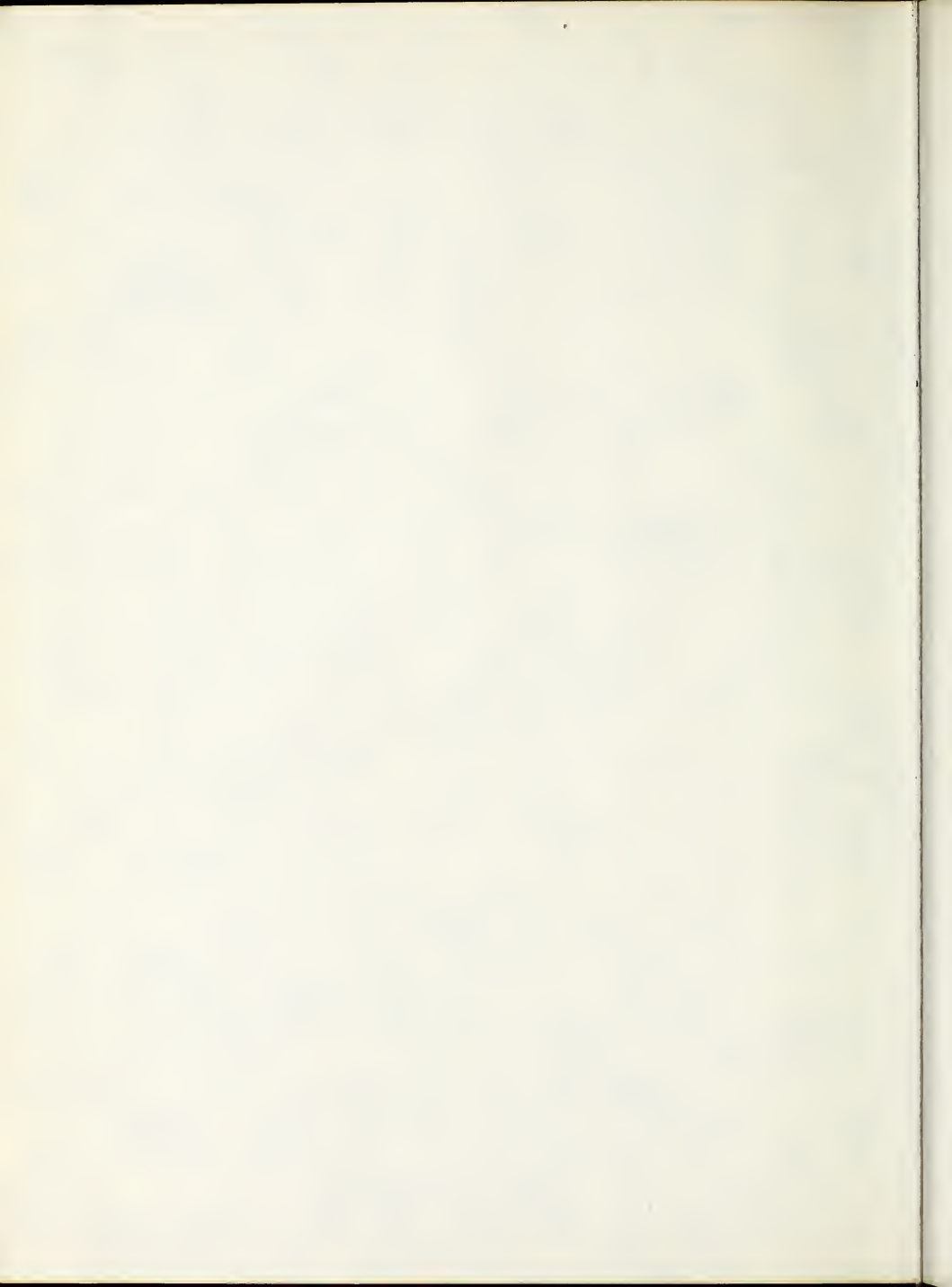


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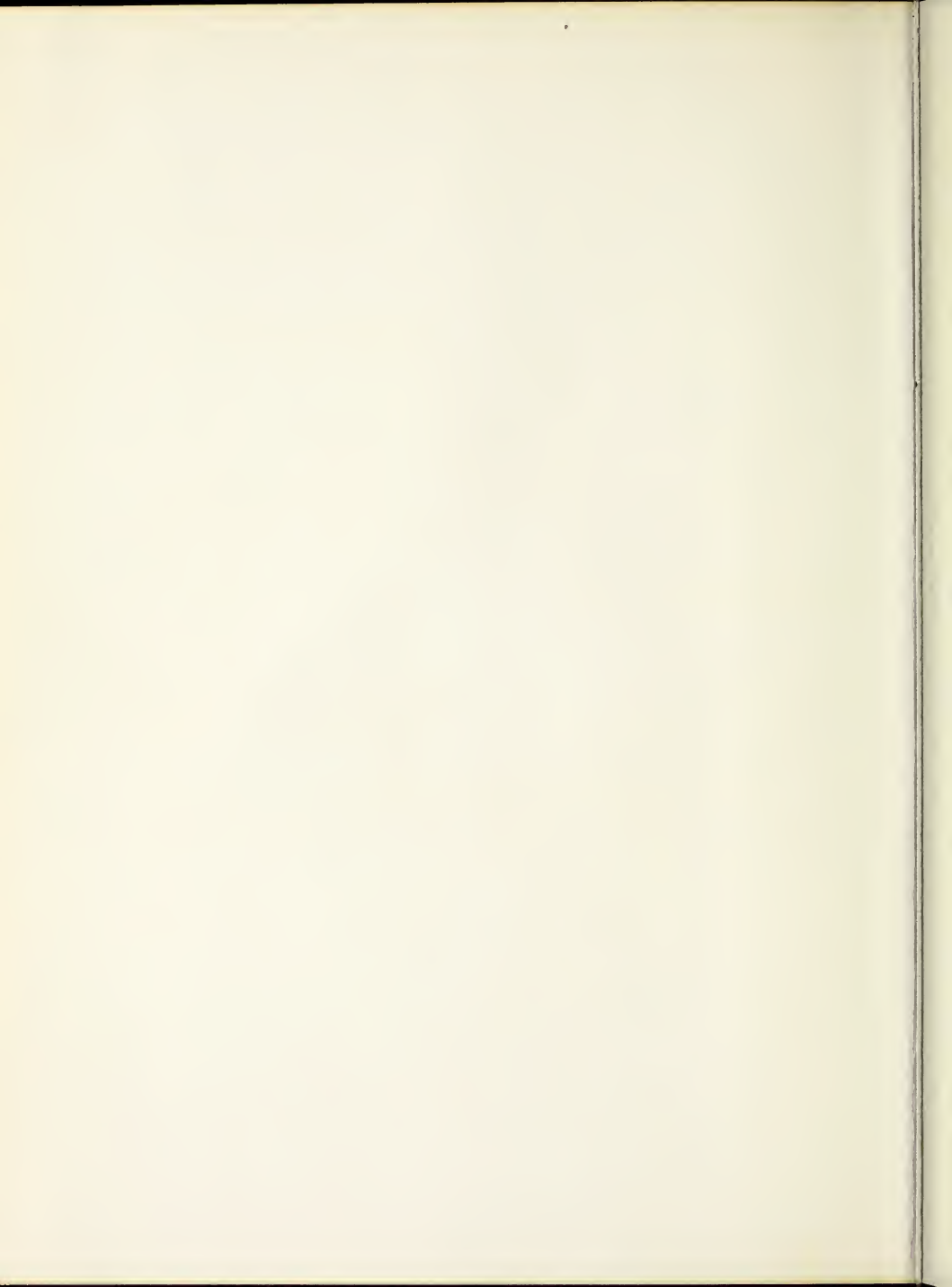


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THE CITIZEN AND THE NEWS

*Addresses delivered
at the Golden Anniversary
celebration of the
Marquette University
College of Journalism
March 6, 7, and 8, 1961
April 14 and 15, 1961*

THE MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1962



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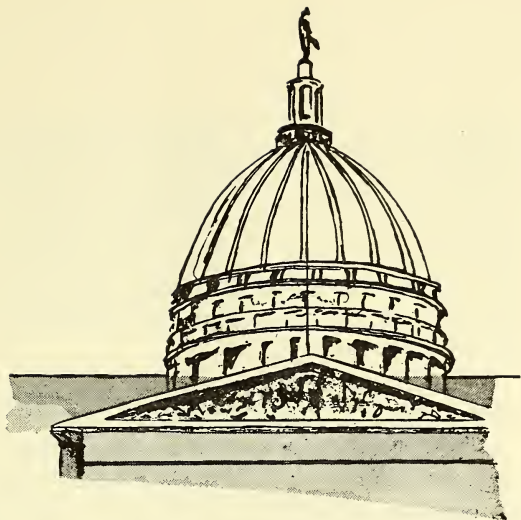
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PREFACE

THE fiftieth anniversary of the start of journalism instruction at Marquette University was celebrated during the school year of 1960-61. Various events were scheduled in observance of the anniversary. These included the Catholic Education Press Congress held on Nov. 11, 12, and 13, 1960; a Conference on Editing Problems of Catholic Publications, Jan. 26 and 27, 1961; a Conference of the Citizen and the News, March 6, 7, and 8; and an Institute on Foreign Correspondence on April 14.

On April 15, a Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving was celebrated in Gesu Church by the Most Reverend William E. Cousins, Archbishop of Milwaukee. The Archbishop also delivered the sermon at the Mass. On this occasion he announced that His Holiness, Pope John XXIII, had honored Dean J. L. O'Sullivan by appointing him a Knight of St. Gregory the Great.

An Academic Convocation was held on the afternoon of April 15 when the anniversary address was delivered by Dr. Ralph D. Casey,

Professor and Director Emeritus, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota. Honorary degrees were conferred on Dr. Casey; Stanley Morison, Typographic Designer and Historian, *The London Times*; and the following alumni of the College, Jose I. Rivero, Editor and Publisher, *Diario de la Marina* (in exilio); Donald C. McNeill, "Breakfast Club," American Broadcasting Company, and Walter W. Belson, Director of Public Relations and Assistant to the President, American Trucking Association.

The celebration closed with a civic and professional dinner in tribute to the College on April 15.

Main speeches given at the Catholic Education Press Congress were printed in the *Catholic School Editor*. The entire time of the conference on editing problems was devoted to discussion meetings. The addresses printed in this book are from the Conference on the Citizen and the News, the Institute on Foreign Correspondence, and the Academic Convocation.

The entire celebration was in charge of three committees, one representing the faculty of the College of Journalism; the second representing the alumni, and the third, the professional field. Dean O'Sullivan was general chairman; Mr. Belson, chairman of the alumni committee, and Kenneth W. Haagensen, Director of Public Relations of the Allis Chalmers Mfg. Co., chairman of the professional committee. The Rev. Gerald P. Brennan, S.J., regent of the College of Journalism, was the honorary chairman for all events.

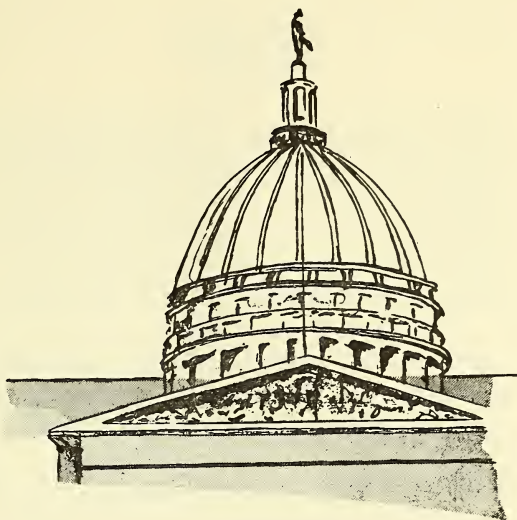
Professor David Host was chairman of the program for the Citizen and the News Conference, and Dean O'Sullivan for the Foreign Correspondence Institute.

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David Host



INTRODUCTION

I

WHILE this collection was being prepared, it was pointed out that not much was done during the anniversary year to make clear the spirit and form of the journalism instruction given at Marquette, and it was suggested that this introduction say something on that subject. And why not? On the occasion of any anniversary it is hardly improper to pay attention to the subject being honored. Such a consideration even seems a suitable introduction to a volume like this one, since the rest of its contents relates to the work for which the instruction in the college aims to prepare students.

The most obvious way of treating journalism instruction at Marquette is to trace its history. However, to a great extent that was done by Dean J. L. O'Sullivan in the introduction to the Alumni Directory published during the anniversary year. But whatever its history, after fifty years the Marquette journalism program has developed a definite,

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and perhaps in some respects, a unique character. To attempt to sketch that character is a second approach to the subject, and the one I take here. The best way to do that in the short space available, it seems to me, is to state and briefly explain those notions about education for journalism which guide the dean and the faculty and which, as the result, shape the course of instruction.

Several difficulties lie in the way of that undertaking. One, the most important to me, is that in speaking as I must for the dean and other members of the faculty I may not correctly express their minds. A second is that I state my own instead of their ideas. The third is that, even when I do convey the common mind of us all, I describe what we aim at and try for instead of what actually is. I hope that my admission of these difficulties will be both an assurance that I will try to overcome them and, contradictorily perhaps, an apology for not succeeding.

II

The College of Journalism, of course, functions within the broad purposes of Marquette University. In the words of the various college bulletins, the University is dedicated to the pursuit of total truth; it seeks to develop in its members a true sense of what it is to be Americans, and its pervading emphasis throughout all its activities is the spirit of St. Ignatius who founded the Society of Jesus which operates the University.

The journalism students and faculty share in these objectives. Specifically, they participate in the University's pursuit of total truth by pursuing two distinct but related parts of it: truth about journalism as a work to be done and truth about the news media as social instruments through which the work is done. The first is the oldest of the specific objectives of the College and the most fundamental since the second and other, unmentioned, objectives have grown out of it and to differing degrees are dependent on it.

A part of the truth about journalism and the news media is their definition, including the mere definition of terms. Obviously how

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any college of journalism defines journalism will in great part determine its own character by setting the boundaries of the intellectual area which its curricula covers and over which the faculty considers itself to have academic jurisdiction. However, the lines distinguishing journalism from other communications endeavors and the news media from other communications enterprises are not sharp and clear; among the people in the field and among critics and teachers they are blurred and ambiguous. As the result, acceptable exact definitions are not to be found. In common usage, journalism covers all the nonmechanical operations involved in the production of periodicals and of many radio and television programs as well as all the work performed by these. Since this broad meaning does prevail, the College cannot help but use it, too. The curricula reflect it by embracing classes in a wide variety of subjects whose relation is not immediately apparent: newspaper reporting, for example, radio and television writing, advertising, and public relations.

But besides this broad view a much more restricted view is taken of journalism in Marquette classes. In this stricter sense, journalism denotes the work of reporting current affairs, analyzing their bearing upon the communities in which they occur, and deliberating on the courses of action to be taken regarding them—all for public consumption to the end of enabling men to maintain intelligent contact with the changes in their environment. Much of what is admitted within the broad meaning of the term, especially the trivial, the absurd, and the merely entertaining work of the media is eliminated by this narrow meaning with the result that journalism is held up as a serious public endeavor. Defining journalism in this way makes it easy to define the news media. They become all the newspapers, magazines, radio, and television programs which perform this work and which, to the extent they do, together comprise what, for want of a better term, can be called the “newspress.”

These narrow definitions are evidenced in the College curricula by a set of required classes in the essentials of this work which

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is the heart or core of the entire program. All other classes are subordinated to this core and organized about it.

Partly as the result, students who follow the curricula receive a well-defined and detailed grounding in the essentials of the work of journalism and a less intense introduction to specialized work in the field. Hence, on graduation they are prepared generally for work in the field but usually they are not yet highly expert in any specialty.

It is worth noticing that, while for some journalists and teachers, journalism means newspaper work only, for the Marquette faculty the term includes magazine, radio, and television work as well. If newspaper journalism receives more attention in Marquette classes, the other media are not ignored now and will be given even more attention when the necessary facilities are acquired. But since newspapers constitute the greater part of the newspress and, more importantly, because they have set the pattern for journalism generally, knowledge of newspaper work inevitably overflows into knowledge of the other media and their peculiar requirements are easily studied as modifications of newspaper practice.

III

A second characteristic of the journalism program is its close relations with the liberal arts program. The course of technical instruction in the College of Journalism, although it amounts to less than a quarter of the total work required for the bachelor's degree, extends over the entire four years of the usual undergraduate career. While the student pursues his journalistic studies he is also following the program in the liberal arts and sciences or the humanities offered by the College of Liberal Arts. There are several reasons for this relationship and even for this proportion.

One is simply that the journalism program grew that way. Not that the first journalism courses were offered in the College of Liberal Arts and that journalism simply continued that relation. The first journalism classes actually were given in the College of Economics

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which became the present College of Business Administration. For whatever reason, the program was quickly moved out of its original commercial environment and when the College of Journalism was established five years later its orientation toward the liberal arts was already well set. The point is that with this humanistic orientation the College grew, developed, and prospered. The association proved congenial both to the program of studies and to students who desired a general college education at the same time they prepared for careers in journalism.

A more definite reason is that it is inconceivable to the journalism faculty that journalists should not be educated, and educated precisely in those persisting questions of the nature and end of man and of the most pressing of his common worldly circumstances with which humanistic studies are traditionally concerned. By such study they come to share that fund of intellectual experience derived from other men's inquiries which constitute our cultural heritage. Without this education how could journalists hope to communicate with their fellow men since they would have neither the common experience, the common intellectual principles, nor even the common language essential for communication? Indeed, except for recounting the facts of current events and expressing commonplaces about them what could the journalist, without this education, possibly have to say worth other men's attention?

The relations between journalism instruction and humanistic learning has several aspects of concern to the journalism faculty. A great deal of the study of journalism must be devoted more to method or form of published expression than to content or matter. In fact, it would not be far wrong to describe journalism as a complex rhetoric, an extension of that part of the ancient trivium carried up to the present and complicated by the peculiar powers and limits of power in the instruments by which so much of modern communication is carried on. As such, instruction in journalism runs the risk of producing men and women grounded in the techniques of expression and dissemina-

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tion but having little or nothing to communicate. The possibility can never be eradicated, but by several means the faculty tries to keep the possible from becoming the probable.

By maintaining close relations between journalism instruction and the liberal arts program, the faculty hopes that the students will not only come to see how much the exercise of their technique depends on content but will habitually employ their humanistic knowledge in their journalistic exercises. Extending journalism instruction over the full four years the students are pursuing humanistic studies increases the chances that these hopes will be realized. But maintaining the relations in the instruction given in the College of Journalism is perhaps the best means of all. Teaching the techniques of journalism in the light of humanistic learning, adverting to elements of that learning, and incorporating it in the technical instruction give further assurance that journalism students will acquire substantive knowledge as well as knowledge of method and will combine the two learning endeavors in their own minds.

Although, from what has just been said, they may seem to, the benefits of the relation between journalism and liberal arts do not all flow from arts to journalism. The success of journalism students in their humanistic studies is a kind of proof that the study of journalism is not an ineffectual approach to education in the humanities. It is not original today to point out that the majority of students in liberal arts programs have "professional" aspirations and take their arts courses as preparation for their specialties, nor that these aims make them better liberal arts students than those without their motivation. What is true generally is true of the particular, but journalism has an added reason for being an appropriate approach to liberal arts. As we have seen, journalism's great concern is with effective expression, and expression, rhetoric, eloquence has long been used within the liberal arts tradition as a successful way of getting to the more substantive courses such as theology, philosophy, history, literature, and political science.

In this relation exists another danger which helps characterize or helps clarify this single character of Marquette's journalism instruction. To study any traditional liberal art subject as preparation for specific careers can destroy the student's appreciation and proper understanding of the subject. Many studies are considered liberal because they are speculative rather than practical. No approach to them can change their formal character. Of their very nature they supply only knowledge and so, as Newman is famous for saying, knowledge of them is its own end. To pursue these studies not from this point of view but for the purpose of using the knowledge in one's life work is to make them a means, as they can be made accidentally. This can lead the students to lose respect for that knowledge and by that to fail to possess it. The effect can be seen in the protests of some students that this or that humanistic inquiry is a waste of their time because they cannot use it in the careers they eventually wish to pursue. It can be seen in the desire of other similar students for special courses in the humanities which eliminate those parts of the liberal study least easily understood from the position of one preparing for a career and least likely to bear upon that career.

The journalism faculty has no recourse but to resist this pragmatic compromise. It does so by not requesting that journalism students be given courses in liberal arts specially devised to satisfy solely their narrower interests in the subjects as "professional" students. It does so by encouraging appreciation of liberal studies, as far as it can, in classes and in student advising. It does so, finally, by making deliberate efforts in those journalism courses which relate humanistic to professional knowledge to take the properly liberal approach to the humanistic part of those courses and make them, as far as possible, truly liberal studies.

IV

The primary objective of the College of Journalism, truth about journalism as a work to be done, commits the faculty to in-

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culcating in students some degree of competence in that work. How the faculty conceives that competence exerts great influence—perhaps the greatest influence of all—on the character of Marquette's journalism instruction.

Competence here is, obviously, the ability to perform the work of journalism with ease, speed, effect, and precision. A major part of the instruction, then, must combine theory and practice. The best explanation with the clearest and strongest illustration can do no more than furnish students an academic familiarity with the work. Alone, it cannot adequately prepare students to do the work. Extensive, teacher-directed practice must be added for that. Consequently, in their classes journalism students are made to practice what the teacher preaches, and as the result, become familiar with the concrete realities of the work itself and develop their ability to do it as well as know it.

Basically what they do, of course, is write, for writing is the beginning of almost all the editorial work of publication, photography being the outstanding exception. The journalism program, then, is to a great extent a four-year course in writing. But the work of journalism is more than literary and photographic expression, that is, the production of external representations of what lies within a man. It is dissemination, that is, the reproduction or extension of expression among numbers of people too great to be reached by personal expression alone. Hence, the practice given students must be practice in writing for publication, and that by means of the press, radio, and television. This is the reason that the college uses publishing facilities as something like laboratories for student practice, the reason the College has worked in close association with the Marquette University Press and, finally, the reason the faculty looks forward to the day when electronic facilities will be available for the same purpose.

A corollary of this is familiarity with the manner and methods by which the work of journalism is being performed today. Without that familiarity students would not be prepared realistically for their

careers. In consequence of this requirement, Marquette journalism instruction is given always with reference to current practices and in circumstances which simulate as closely as feasible the conditions in which the work is done in the field. A danger here is that the news-press' performance is accepted without question or criticism. That danger is easily overcome, however, by a critical vigilance that is not psychologically unexpected on the part of the faculty and is readily adopted by the students.

V

Another aspect of competence in journalism, as the faculty conceives it, is that its roots lie in understanding the work to be done. The matter which it is most necessary for the journalist to understand is the demands imposed on the work by its purposes, its subject matter, and its instruments. The printed word and still picture of newspapers and magazines, the spoken word and background sound of radio, and the combination of spoken word, vision of the speaker, still and motion picture and background sound of television have peculiar powers to be exploited and peculiar limitations to be respected by anyone who undertakes to communicate by means of them. The subject matter with which journalism deals—public acts and policies, public questions and controversies—forces the journalist to use and adapt appropriate forms of expression and publication. Finally, the specific purposes of the reporter, the commentator, the analyst, and the editorialist give shape and organization to the articles these specialists compose. Without knowledge of these internal demands no one is capable of performing the work of journalism according to its essential principles. In consequence, without this knowledge no one can be expected to perform the work as effectively as another who has the understanding, nor even to perform it effectively at all for any length of time except by chance. Certainly without it no one can be master of the work, able to control it, and command it for his purposes.

Now as it happens, it is possible to teach the work of journalism without considering the demands of that work deeply or even at all.

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It can be done by teaching the performance according to current methods and conventions and to the wishes of editors and the policies of publishers without ever inquiring into the reasons for them or questioning their propriety and efficiency. This is teaching by a kind of rote. It is instruction in how the work is done, instead of how it is to be done. It doesn't penetrate very deeply into the "how" of the work and never stretches down to the controlling "why." To the Marquette faculty this kind of instruction is "vocational" rather than "professional." It compares roughly to a training course in radio and television repairing in contrast to a college program in electronic engineering. It is, almost always, the only kind of instruction men can receive when they learn the work on the job. And the faculty decries it for being ineffectual because it does not give anything like a mastery of the work but merely habituates students in the usual, often only conventional practices of the day. Having been instructed in this fashion, a man in journalism lives in fear of the day conventional practices change and he will have to try to learn new methods, for which he is unprepared. The faculty sees, if it needs it, confirmation of its view in the frequency with which that fear is being realized for many publishers, editors, and staffmen in this day of great change in communications as well as in the difficulties of many journalists to adapt the work of journalism to changing public wants.

In contrast with this vocational training, the Marquette faculty tries to bring its students to understand the technical requirements of journalism and to distinguish between the conventions and the principles of the work, between what is necessary in it and what is not, between methods that rise out of passing, incidental circumstances or arbitrary decisions and those that originate in the nature of the work itself. Any instruction less than this seems to them beneath the level of study proper to a university.

All this is only another way of saying that the journalism faculty considers journalism an art or a combination of several arts, and teaches the work as art. Some will think it pretentious to apply that

term to journalism and according to one meaning given the term today it is. By this usage art is restricted to what is often called fine art, best written with capitals. The contention brings up old quarrels—into which there is no need to enter here—based on a legitimate distinction. If the distinction is not always easily lived up to, the faculty nevertheless does not mean to deny it. Used by them in reference to journalism, art means simply the making of things according to the intellectually perceived requirements of the things. For the most part the products of journalism do not have the high purposelessness of the fine arts which aim at creating new things for their beauty, although some forms of literary and pictorial production by journalists approach this. Journalism aims predominantly at utility, its products serve needs, often serious private and social needs, as can be seen in the direct use persons and society put them to. If anyone prefers to call this craft instead of art, the journalism faculty will not complain. The significant thing is that in the College of Journalism the work is conceived of as production according to the intellectually understood requirements of the object produced, and is taught as such.

VI

Besides understanding the internal demands of his work, no journalist is fully competent, the faculty believes, until he understands as well what demands are made of him from outside his techniques. By reporting, analyzing, and estimating current events and problems the journalist becomes involved in his readers' imaginative, intellectual, and volitional life. This, because contemporary affairs are a large part of the circumstances, especially the psychological, social, and moral circumstances of modern men's acts. In fact, although it did not always occupy so eminent a position and is not now the exclusive concern of the news media, the reporting function today is essential to our way of life. As the result the public has claims on the work and on the journalists' performance of it. Its claims will be met when the work is performed according to the standards of a broad

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humane propriety, embracing esthetic and social as well as moral elements. Consequently, for the journalist's work to be entirely effective, it is not enough that it meets its own internal requirements; it must be ordered to and by the human nature and condition, and even the ultimate sanctification of those who use it and are thereby inevitably affected by it. Hence, full competence as a journalist calls for an understanding of human conduct and its standards.

This is another reason why the journalism program at Marquette is as intimately related to liberal arts as it is. Knowledge of the nature, circumstances, and end of man is derived from historical, literary, social, philosophical, and theological studies which are for this reason traditionally called humanistic. The journalism program necessarily depends on these classes to supply its students the basic insights into human nature from which the standards of the journalist's conduct are drawn.

Indeed, some truths which arise in areas of liberal study have especially important bearing on the work of journalism: for example, man's social nature, his freedom, his normal subjection to civil authority, his normal need of communication as both means and end and, most plainly, the many interwoven truths that construct his morality. Because these directly control a great deal of the journalist's work and govern its propriety the faculty has judged it best that this control and government be treated explicitly in some of the classes in the curricula and that students be required to devote a part of their professional study to these subjects.

VII

From considering what knowledge a competent journalist requires it is only a step to considering the old question: "Is journalism a profession?" The question receives greater attention from other teachers of journalism than Marquette teachers accord it. In the Marquette faculty's judgment, the ethical standards of the work do not depend on journalism being a profession, as they apparently do de-

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pend in the minds of some others. The Marquette faculty makes no bones about denying that journalism today is a profession in the way medicine and law are professions. They do not for what they think are obvious reasons. The journalist has not yet the extent and degree of independence and consequent responsibility a professional man is expected to have. Nor does there exist a sufficient body of special knowledge employed in the practice of journalism, required of those who perform it and attainable only after relatively long years of study. Nevertheless they believe that journalism has characteristics which make it profession-like, that is, professional, with emphasis on the suffix. The chief of these is its direct contribution to the common good of the communities in which it functions. The newspaper produces a great deal of trivial entertainment today which is incidental to its serious purposes. But it supplies communities services they cannot do without and for which they have come to depend on it. By the dissemination of information of practical private and public value, by reporting the policies and acts of the governors in our democratic society, by acting as a public forum, for example, the newspaper serves the common good. As a consequence those who direct and perform the work of journalism owe a debt to the societies of which they are parts, a debt they are called upon to pay even at the expense of their private profit. In this the journalist bears responsibility that calls for the exercise of his special competence.

VIII

It is scarcely possible to keep an honest endeavor to understand any object from engendering an inquiring spirit in those participating. It is not much more possible to contain intellectual curiosity, once aroused, within any but the limits of reason; inevitably it reaches into unexplored territory. The College's effort to study journalism according to the demands of the work prompts both student and teacher to question that work, its methods and procedures, its instruments and its governing principles. In the best students the practice gradually

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becomes a habit and an attitude which moves them to inquiries beyond the matter expounded in class, in textbooks and in journals. Hence a spirit of inquiry and research is a natural growth in the Marquette College of Journalism.

If it is natural it is also a tender growth, especially delicate in the seedling stage. Journalism instruction deliberately aims at arousing the spirit of inquiry among undergraduates and, when aroused, at nurturing and disciplining it. Every undergraduate is encouraged and given opportunities to pursue questions about journalism beyond the considerations accorded them in class and thus to extend his knowledge by his own initiative. Graduate students are, by the formal purpose of their program, committed to developing the capacity for independent inquiry and investigation; the instruction given them aims at perfecting their scholarly powers so that these can be loosed to range broadly over the entire field of journalism.

Of course, it is the faculty who perform most of the inquiring done in the College. Faculty members are prompted to it by the same end that moves the students: the desire to understand the work of journalism according to its demands. But in addition the faculty consider themselves committed by the profession of teaching to increase their understanding of the subjects they teach. The times encourage their efforts. On every side today old questions about journalism are being re-asked in the light of new circumstances; new questions are constantly arising; traditional methods of study are being recruited for new investigations and new methods are being sought.

While it cannot be denied that a great deal is known about journalism, some of it regarding fundamentals of expression and interpretation is almost as old as our civilization, a great deal remains to be learned. About the internal demands of the work, much understanding depends on the peculiar powers and limits of the powers of the instruments of mass communications. The changing organization of our social life and changing practices in the communications industry affect the external demands of the work as much. Consequently,

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investigations by graduate students and faculty members are as often academic or broadly speculative as they are professional; that is to say, they are as concerned to discover factual and theoretical truth about the press, radio, and television as they are to uncover truth about the practice of journalism which will be directly useful to the professional. What is derived from this research enters the classrooms to enrich instruction there and to feed the spirit of inquiry in the College at large.

IX

Since Marquette is a Catholic university, its Catholic students work in a religious milieu and study in the broad intellectual context of Christian revelation. As the result, students are led—by explicit instruction, by implication and inference, and by example, not solely or even primarily given in the College—to realize that a Christian performs his work, and thus a Christian journalist performs his professional tasks, out of his faith and with the superior motivation of Charity. The faculty is at pains not to suggest that the Christian's part in the public work of journalism is to take advantage of his position to propagandize and proselytize for the church, especially not at the expense of his public responsibilities and professional services. Their intent, rather, is to make clear that the very work of news writing, editing, and the other technical tasks of journalism is fundamentally religious to the extent that it serves man's wants as God created them; that its performance is ordered to God when its performers commit themselves to the whole good of it, social and moral as well as technical and esthetic, and that, thus performed, grace derived from the sacramental life of the Church, in a multitude of mysterious ways, helps the performer and even the performance. Hence, the program and its situation within the University and the Church helps students to see their professional and essentially political or temporal careers as vocations in the religious sense and to have for their work all the respect that appreciation engenders.

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To sum up, instruction in journalism at Marquette University is chiefly, though not wholly, distinguished by the following characteristics. It is preparation for the serious public work of keeping men and communities informed of the changing acts and events of the life about them which affect their well-being in order that they can act wisely and well regarding them. It is intimately bound up in the liberal education of its students, depends fundamentally on liberal studies, and is itself as liberal as a professional program can be. Its central concern is to develop in its students competence in the performance of journalism based on understanding of the technical, internal exigencies of that work—hence it is artistic—and of the humane external exigencies of the work—hence it is professional. While it is specifically all these, it is at the same time, openly religious in context, in spirit, and in ultimate end.

Milwaukee, Wis.

June, 1962

INTRODUCTION

Conference On The Citizen And The News

THE topic of the Conference on the Citizen and the News brings together two elements of our political life of whose relations our traditions have made us well aware. Free people govern themselves. They do so in part directly and in part indirectly by governing their governors. In this way they do more than effectively keep their governors from becoming tyrants over them; they also achieve considerable assurance that the governors represent those transcendent truths which the people affirm and the society itself embodies.

Obviously, much is required of the people to attain these happy effects. Good will, certainly; practical wisdom, without a doubt. But equally necessary is knowledge of the problems which the country faces, of the events and actions which affect and often produce these problems, and of the endeavors of the government to cope with them. Such knowledge, low on the scale of knowledges, is nevertheless high in practical value. Without it neither good will nor practical wisdom

can be politically realized so as to direct the country to its true well-being.

For the greater part of such information the citizenry requires today, in fact, is utterly dependent upon, the journalist. By a tradition that extends back to the birth of this country we accord the press the political task of keeping the people informed of public problems and of the governors' acts regarding those problems.

These are traditional notions, commonplaces among us. They were familiar to the founding fathers. There probably never was a time in the history of this country when they were denied. There is no reason to doubt that Fr. John E. Copus, S.J., expressed them in those evening classes with which journalism education at Marquette began fifty years ago. The question might well be asked, "Why should we concern ourselves with these notions now?"

An answer is, "Because in the time since the founding of this country, even in the shorter time since the start of journalism instruction at the university, many things have changed." Some of the changes are so well recognized today we can afford merely to list them:

The country has grown to enormous proportions, physically, industrially, and culturally.

It has become engaged in one way or another with every other country on the globe so that we, the people, have become involved with virtually all the other peoples in the world.

Government has grown apace, so that the size, extent, and activity of the federal government today is beyond the wildest imagining of the founding fathers, or of the citizens of 1911.

As the result, the number of questions concerning the country's welfare has increased as has their breadth and complexity.

The task of keeping the citizenry adequately informed, then, is today broader, more complicated, and more difficult than ever before.

In the same time, the press has changed, too. Approximately half the number of daily papers in existence in 1911 are read by more than twice the number of people today.

Production and distribution methods have changed, ownership and financing have changed, news and editorial practices have changed.

Moreover, the newspaper is no longer the only instrument performing the political work. Magazine journalism has developed. Radio and television reports, documentaries, and comments have become familiar. These relatively new instruments share the political work of the press now and contribute, each with its peculiar powers and effects, to making today's citizens knowledgeable about our public problems.

As the result, the journalist performs his political work in a new situation, with new instruments, new relations with the public, and by producing new effects.

All this is not to suggest that the traditional propositions about our democratic society and its needs of an informed citizenry are no longer true today as they were 50 or 180 years ago. But it does suggest that now is an appropriate time to re-ask some of the old, traditionally answered questions in order to understand how, in the changed circumstances of our time, the news media fulfill the traditional role assigned them.

These were the ideas which inspired the Conference on the Citizen and the News. The central concern of the Conference was: What performance is called for from the various media if the people today are to be kept as well informed about national affairs as a democratic citizenry needs to be?

Although this question covers only a part of the huge problem, it is nevertheless broad and complicated in itself. The answer, if one answer to so large a question can be conceived, depends on several secondary inquiries.

One of these is: How do citizens today control or influence the course of the country?

Another is: What competence does the citizenry have today to control or influence the direction of national affairs?

The answers to these two questions are essential for an understanding of what wants among the people the news media must aim to fill if they are to perform their traditional role effectively today.

Another question is: What hinders the efforts of reporters to gather and disseminate the information our democracy needs? The answer to that will help make realistic our hopes for effective performance by the news media.

And still another question is: What peculiar powers and what peculiar limits of power have the various media to consider as they undertake their political tasks?

These four questions constituted the agenda of the Conference. The program consisted of a series of afternoon and evening addresses—the texts of which follow—and a series of discussions with the speakers by a group of invited conferees from the local community as well as from neighboring universities.

Unfortunately, circumstances contrived to completely disorganize the schedule and pretty well wreck the Conference.

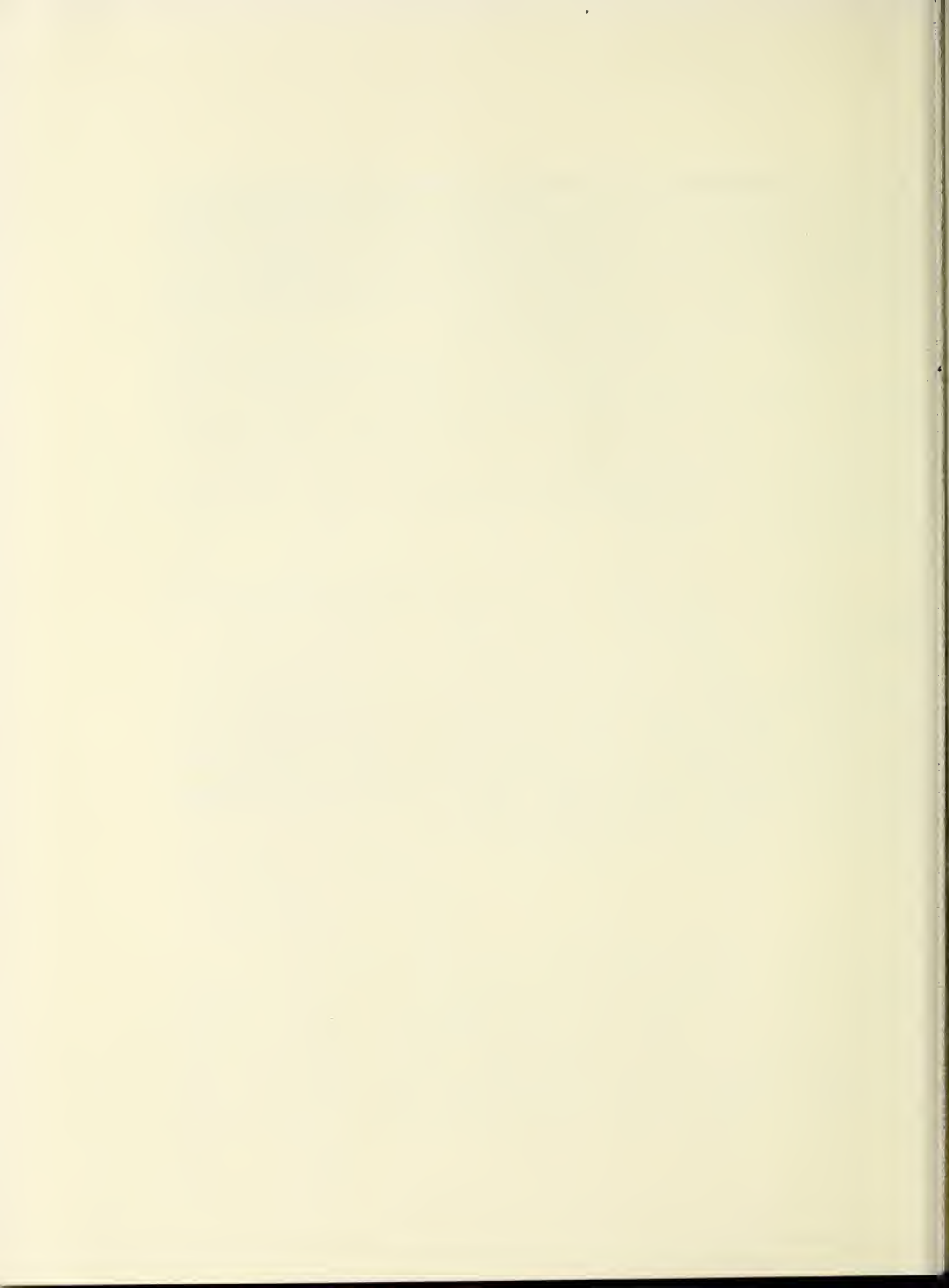
The meeting began splendidly, at least to the outside observer, with Mr. Douglass Cater's address the evening of March 7. However that outwardly happy beginning was marred by Mr. Cater's being called back to Washington after his address by a sudden serious illness in his family. The discussion session with him scheduled for the next morning had to be cancelled.

It was just as well. Early Wednesday morning, March 8, snow began to fall in Milwaukee; by eight o'clock it reached blizzard proportions, traffic in and to the city slowed and finally all but stopped entirely. Donald C. Blaisdell, who was on one of the last trains to reach Milwaukee that day, spent almost two hours making the ordinarily 20 minute trip from his hotel to the campus. William Y. Elliott's plane put down in St. Louis with all flights to Milwaukee

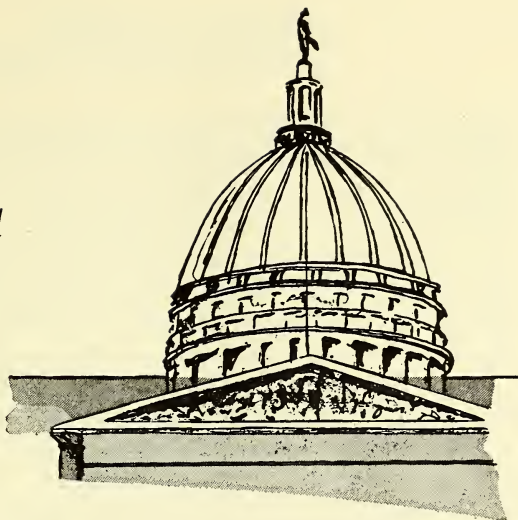
indefinitely cancelled. Of the invited conferees, only a few early arrivals who were housed close to the campus could get through to the Marquette Union. And with traffic so clogged that people in downtown Milwaukee spent the night there, and those who reached home were unable to leave, no audience could be marshalled. As the result the largest part of the program was cancelled.

Professor Blaisdell generously gave his address to a small audience of residents students Thursday morning and carried on a long discussion with them afterward. The last sessions of the Conference, including Mr. Edward P. Morgan's and Mr. Arville Schaleben's addresses and the discussion which followed, were held, but by then the development and organization of the conference subject matter had been destroyed.

Members of the committee which conceived and arranged the program of the Conference were: Dr. John O. Riedl, Professor of Philosophy; Fr. Virgil Blum, S.J., Professor of Political Science; J. L. O'Sullivan, Dean of the College of Journalism; William Ready, Director of the University Libraries; Dr. Thomas P. Whelan, Professor of English; Robert Kidera, Director of Public Relations; James Arnold, Assistant Professor of Journalism; Warren Bovee, Associate Professor of Journalism; Louis Belden, Assistant Professor of Journalism; David Host, Professor of Journalism, Chairman.



Donald C. Blaisdell



THE PEOPLE'S INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL POLICIES

IN a democracy no subject is more important than the one I have been asked to discuss: how do citizens influence the acts and policies of the government? This question is of the highest importance because the answer will tell us how healthy our democracy is. It is a matter of procedures but it would be unwise to relegate the question of procedures to a secondary place in our public debate. I am among those who are convinced that our democracy works well to the extent that its procedures work well. No matter how inspiring our constitutional principles may sound, if their application in practice leaves something to be desired our democracy falls short of its goal. It could be argued successfully, I think, that the history of democracy in America is the story of the various and varying procedures which have

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been devised over the years to balance individual rights with majority rule. In this constant balancing act the questions of how to observe the Bill of Rights and of how society resolves public issues are central to the health and vitality of our Republic.

In much writing and talking about public policy it is assumed that policy is made as the Constitution provides: by a deliberative legislature representing the people and their overall interests, administered by an executive branch headed by a chief executive, and with the dividing line between individual rights and the requirements of society fixed by a judicial branch. In this discussion I will suggest that new means of formulating and carrying out policy have emerged requiring changes in this popular picture.

Outwardly the government presents much the same appearance as in an earlier day. Except for the vast increase in size our federal government today is not very different in form from what it was in the 1920's.

The great changes have taken place in the setting for government and in the procedures adapted from earlier methods. These changes are to be noted in the environment in which government operates, with its technological revolutions in transportation and communications; in the mobility of the population and the resulting disfranchisement of millions of citizens; in urbanization, and in the impact of the Great Depression and of two World Wars.

At least three additional features of this environment warrant mention here. One is the effect of propaganda on public opinion. I will have more to say on this presently.

The second factor is the new men, as Sir Charles Snow calls them, the atomic scientists and the other technologists who concentrate on developing new weapons. I do not pretend to know much about the effects which they and their handiwork are having on our society, particularly on our political and governmental institutions. It seems already clear, however, that they are part of a complex which in the last two decades has emerged as a new and as yet unappreciated force

in our policy-making. Probably it is too much to say, as Harrison Brown and James Real say in *Community of Fear*, at least without some proof, that the vested interest this new class has obtained in the arms race would prevent the carrying out of any disarmament or arms control agreement that might be reached with the Soviets, and might even threaten civilian control of our government. Yet Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the eve of his retirement as President, cautioned against permitting this new armaments industry and its attendant class of technologists to gain undue influence over the government.

The last factor to be referred to in passing is the external environment itself. We live in a world which in many respects is new and are surrounded by situations which are unprecedented. Described by Sir Winston Churchill as "the balance of terror," the environment of man today strains to the breaking point his ability to comprehend it. Does it not set limits to our range of choice in matters of national policy? Many, perhaps most, of the grave policy decisions of recent years have been made, in fact, by others over whom we have little control. Relative to the order of magnitude of such events the influence of the people on policy is not very direct and is limited to policies of secondary importance.

Even so, many of our people still try to influence governmental policies. It is their right, under the first amendment to the Constitution. The right of petition is a form of grievance procedure which Congress is forbidden to abridge. The channels of communication between citizens and their government must remain open. No barriers should stand between the citizen who feels he has a grievance and the governmental body which is supposed to consider and redress it.

Among the problems facing the citizen with a grievance is the basic one of how to locate someone who will listen. If the grievance is a personal one—an immigration problem requiring a private bill, for example—a congressman or someone in his office will usually help. If the grievance is a public one, on the other hand, the right of petition is of uncertain value. It is true that the practice of holding com-

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mittee hearings on pending legislation provides a channel for communication to Congress. But the ordinary citizen finds it not easy to use this channel. Even if his grievance is legitimate—or if he thinks it is—there are still many difficulties to overcome. The difficulties mount when he tries to tell his troubles to the executive branch of the government. The right of petition is not limited to petitioning Congress. It is the government as a whole which the individual citizen is entitled to petition as of right. However, the size, complexity, and specialization of programs in the federal government present serious obstacles which usually cannot be surmounted. Similarly, the courts present difficulties of expense and of counsel to the citizen who would use the judiciary.

Essentially, the problem of influencing policies is one of finding access to some official who is accessible. Gaining access is necessary but it is by no means the whole story. There is the receptivity of the official, whether he wants to see the petitioner. The official must be accessible if the citizen is to be successful, or even to have a chance of success, in influencing policy.

Within a month after the inauguration of John F. Kennedy national officials of Americans for Democratic Action had gained access to the President. According to them it was the first time in eight years that they had been in the White House office.

A variety of methods of influencing the acts and policies of the government are used. Many of them are traditional, such as writing letters and sending telegrams to their representatives in Congress, testifying before Congressional committees; buttonholing congressmen in Washington or wherever they can be found, but particularly at their homes when they are "mending their fences"; and exacting promises from candidates for public office and threatening punishment at the polls. All these traditional methods are available to citizens.

Of equal and likely of more importance are novel methods which have been made available and developed in recent years. The objective is to gain access to government indirectly through satura-

tion of the public with propaganda. Indirect lobbying and mass educational campaigns are the two forms taken by these new means to obtain access to government.

Apparently, the idea of indirect lobbying was a brainchild of Dr. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government. At least it was he who developed it to its highest usefulness. Instead of relying on the traditional methods of lobbying, Dr. Rumely published books and pamphlets the ideas and attitudes in which helped to shape the opinions of community leaders so that access to government officials, particularly members of Congress, was gained not so much for the individuals themselves as for their ideas. Incidentally, one can find a parallel in world politics in the success of the Soviets in leaping over western defenses in the Middle East. Dr. Rumely's method has been described by counsel to a House committee investigating lobbying.

... a scheme for raising enormous funds without filing reports pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This scheme has the color of legality, but in fact is a method of circumventing the law. It utilizes a system whereby contributions to the Committee for Constitutional Government are designated as payments for the purchase of books which are transmitted to others at the direction of the purchaser, with both the contributor of the money and the recipients of the books totally unaware of the subterfuge.

When Congress cited Dr. Rumely for contempt for refusing to disclose his contributors' list, the Supreme Court voided the sentence on the ground that under the protection of the first amendment the disclosure of such a list was beyond the power of Congress to require.

The synthetic educational campaign is another new form of lobbying, a form which takes advantage of all the opportunities afforded by nation-wide organization and the revolution in the means of mass communication. An example was the campaign against compulsory health insurance mounted a dozen years ago by a public relations firm for the organized medical profession. It was conducted in

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some 3,000 counties in forty-eight states, gained the support of 12,000 organizations, used all forms of media, sent out over 100 million pieces of literature, and benefitted from over \$2 million worth of newspaper advertising "paid for voluntarily by thousands of advertisers who were so impressed with the advertising made in AMA's behalf that they adopted it and ran ads in the same vein at their own expense."

These are examples of the highest developed forms of modern lobbying, of exercising the right of petition. Emphasis is on planting the right ideas in government officials' minds, not directly or through face to face contact, but indirectly through the generation and dissemination of those ideas to the right people—at the grass roots—who in turn gain access to government by voicing their ideas publicly and otherwise.

The characteristic of most public significance of these new forms is their high cost. They are very expensive. In the first example cited the committee counsel referred to the "enormous funds" involved. The cost of the second ran to over \$4 million. In the light of such facts the question might well be raised whether access to government is equal to all citizens. Direct petition must be used by those persons—individuals and others—lacking the necessary financial resources. But while direct petition is still open technically, it would appear to possess but limited value in comparison with the easy accessibility to government enjoyed by those with large resources.

However, the consensus seems to be that there is nothing illegitimate or illegal about these various methods, both old and new. In fact, individuals with large resources (not ordinary ones) have fared better than the majority of ordinary citizens as represented in Congress. As a body, Congress has been chided by Supreme Court justices dissenting in the Rumely case, who stated their belief that Congress had no power to investigate indirect lobbying and in trying to do so was acting without constitutional warrant. More recently, the Court unanimously refused to uphold lower court decisions that Eastern railroads and their public relations counsel were guilty of conspiracy under the

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anti-trust laws. Thus, the Court tacitly approved or at least did not condemn synthetic mass educational campaigns aimed at influencing legislation. Clear violations of the law, such as failure to register as a lobbyist, are condemned and prosecuted, when they are discovered. Moreover, there appears to be a point beyond which indirect and grass roots lobbying becomes "arrogant," to use former President Eisenhower's descriptive adjective. This is how he described the public education campaign put on by a public relations firm five years ago for the oil and gas industry, thus earning presidential condemnation and a veto of the legislation passed by Congress. On the basis of these indications, although too few to be regarded as conclusive, the general consensus seems to be in line with the view expressed by Clem Whitaker of Whitaker & Baxter, California public relations firm:

I think that the problem involved here is not one of the amount of money spent. And I would say that this applies to election campaigns too. Not the amount that is expended but how it is expended and how honestly it is reported. Miss Baxter and I have felt that there should be no stigma attached to a business because it spends money in defense of its business.

Despite this plausible defense, there are many unresolved problems which go to the heart of the matter of influencing Congress. Not only is the right of petition transformed, but also, because of the high cost of the new lobbying techniques, they fall in the same category as electioneering. In fact, they belong in the same category. It is unrealistic to try to separate them. The late Alben Barkeley could see no difference between electioneering and lobbying. Lobbying, campaign contributions, and political activities were lumped together when they were investigated by a Senate committee in 1957, the most recent congressional investigation. The same connection was noted by John F. Kennedy in 1959 when he pointed to the necessity of some solution to the problem of television costs "if all candidates and parties are to have equal access to television, without becoming deeply obligated to the big financial contributors from the worlds of business, labor, or

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other major lobbies. . . ." At the same time he drew attention to the susceptibility of television to manipulation, exploitation, and gimmicks by public relations experts in political campaigns, abuses to which the medium is also liable when used by special interests in mass education campaigns intended to influence Congress.

A generation ago, before television, close observers of propaganda, the hallmark of the new lobby, pointed out even then how coercion and deception were likely to result. This danger has increased. Today, propaganda, the attempted management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols, masquerades as education and information. Special interests do not mount propaganda campaigns; they call them information and education campaigns. Yet the experts they employ, the public relations counsellors, are those in our society most skilled in managing attitudes by manipulating symbols.

Furthermore, confusion results when an attempt is made to distinguish between selected information transmitted to Congress directly and similar material conveyed to Congress indirectly. Such a distinction assumes that Congress may and can be influenced by the one but not by the other. In fact, Congress must know whence comes the directly transmitted information. Otherwise, to quote the Supreme Court, "the voice of the people may all too easily be drowned out by the voice of special interest groups seeking favored treatment while masquerading as proponents of the public weal." So said the Court in holding that Congress was justified in requiring registration of lobbyists, but only if they made their representations directly to a congressman, a committee, or to Congress as a whole. The whole question of indirect lobbying—propaganda—was ducked by the Court. Yet, the coercion, the deception, and the confusion which are likely to result from the use of propaganda by special interest groups is far more likely to drown out the voice of the people than representations made directly to Congress by lobbyists who are registered and whose identity is known.

When fighting to free producers of oil and gas from federal regulation the industry set up two committees, one which registered

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with Congress as a lobbyist. Its income was not regarded as a business expense. It was therefore not tax deductible. The other committee, the Natural Oil and Gas Resources Committee, did not register with the Congress. Its income, however, was charged as a business expense for tax purposes yet this was the committee which had the "distinct purpose . . . to present to the American people at the grass roots a better understanding of the natural gas industry . . . and to supply . . . long-range educational information to acquaint the people with the facts concerning the production of natural gas." The Internal Revenue Service, when asked to look into the matter by the congressional committee investigating political activities, lobbying, and campaign contributions, did not agree that such income constituted allowable deductions for Federal income-tax purposes.

A disturbing situation arising out of the difficulty of distinguishing between educational and propaganda efforts results in the ignorance of the people at large as to the extent of such propaganda. The claim of the gas and oil industry that its Natural Oil and Gas Resources Committee was engaged in education was denied by the government. But in 1955 some 32,000 organizations did enjoy tax exemption for their income, hence, contributions were tax deductible. The fact is that we simply do not know how much of what we read and hear and see over television originates from biased sources and is disseminated for a purpose other than informing the public. Only partly is this due to privacy and secrecy. Many data are available in the offices of the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate but are not used by the press or other media.

At this point it may be asked, do America's groups perform a political function? Without doubt the answer is yes.

Suppose we could abstract from our voluntary associations that part of their activity which is political. If we could do that then we would have some idea of the political functions they perform.

Such an exercise has never been attempted of course even experimentally. But there is no reason why each of us shouldn't try it. I

have tried it with the following results. Our political and governmental life would suffer. Our civic life would be impoverished. Our society would be changed. To what extent it would be difficult to say. But there is little doubt that these would be among the results.

Some pressure groups and multipurpose organizations have been studied by students of politics and government. Although we are lacking conclusions which are generally accepted, it is clear from what we do know that essential political functions are performed by these groups. For the citizen they provide a desirable means of supplementary representation to that supplied by members of Congress elected from single member districts. Related to this, is the role of such citizens' groups as a place for mobilizing personal opinions and channeling them to Congress and other governmental organs. Also, these groups have distinct values for Congress and for government as a whole. For Congress they function as suppliers of information, as advisors on the effects of measures proposed by them and by others, and as catalysts—speeder uppers—as well as moderators of the resolution of issues. For the executive branch, too, and for the regulatory agencies these groups function in similar roles. Also, many of the questions which the courts deal with are put to them by these groups.

Another question about these groups is their representativeness. Are they representative of the people at large or of some of the people only and in their different capacities?

Here, too, we have some information but not very much because it is not easy to get. These questions would seem to be important, yet when it is suggested that Congress get the information, it is not interested. Such data are not included in census returns. The Department of Commerce issues periodically a directory of associations, but the data are incomplete on members. Similarly with registrations under the Lobby Regulation Act. Data filed there tell us that 3,940 different lobbyists and pressure groups have registered since 1946 but nothing on the membership they represent.

In Minnesota a careful study of the voluntary associations oper-

ating there comes to the conclusion that "total association membership in Minnesota . . . may exceed its three million population." If this is typical of the United States as a whole (Minnesotans at least would doubt this), then every American belongs to at least one voluntary association and many belong to more than one. But we share the Minnesotans' doubt about the typicality of their state in this connection.

The National Association of Manufacturers claims to be the "voice of manufacturing industry" in the United States and to provide authoritative representation of national industrial opinion. In a study of this group these claims were examined with the following conclusions.

NAM membership is concentrated among those firms having more than 100 employees, and since more than 90 percent of all manufacturing establishments employ less than 100 employees, the voice of the small American manufacturer is not directly represented in NAM policies or programs. . . . The Association's authority as industry's spokesman does not extend beyond its own membership and that membership is at best not more than 7 percent of the group for which representation is claimed. This conclusion suggests that a good deal more care should be exercised by the NAM when claiming group authority and, more important, that those to whom the agency's policies are directed should be particularly cautious in accepting such policies as the representative opinion of all industrial management.

Another careful study of voluntary organizations in world affairs communications casts doubt not only on the representativeness of such organizations but also on the customary reference, often quoted since the 1830's when De Tocqueville studied Americans, that we were a country of "joiners." According to this study, "organizational membership, and, to an even greater extent, active organizational participation, are found among only a minority of citizens." The proportion is less than a third, thirty per cent, even if church and trade union memberships are included. In the absence of complete studies one is

perhaps justified in holding to his impression that, at the most, only part of the citizenry is represented through voluntary organizations and, at least, the majority is not represented at all. Such associations succeed only in part in adding to the representation by single member districts of individuals as such, thus sharpening the inequality of access to government already pointed out in connection with the high cost of mass education campaigns. For many individuals the grievance procedure provided by the Constitution isn't used or doesn't work well, while the corollary function of special pleading and of providing Congress with information and advice is overemphasized.

From the functional point of view, the complex of voluntary associations and multipurpose organizations can also be examined in terms of effectiveness.

In the kind of social combat which we call shaping governmental policies no generalization is possible about the effectiveness of groups.

However, some groups are apparently always represented. No Congress convenes without many lobbyists in attendance. The *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* for November 20, 1959, stated that "the House grew by two seats and the Senate by four seats in 1959, but the 'third house of Congress'—the lobbyists—increased by at least 228 members during the first session of the 86th Congress." The same is true for special pleaders before the executive branch, including the regulatory agencies, although, except for lobbyists on public utility holding company matters before the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Power Commission, and on matters relating to shipping before the Federal Maritime Board or the Secretary of Commerce, there is no registration requirement for persons attempting to influence decisions of the executive branch of the federal government.

As for the judiciary, this branch is quite different from the other two. Not only are there no data comparable to those on lobbyists before Congress, since there is no registration requirement, but also such data as there are, are obscured in the judicial process. Pro-

ceedings are cast in the plaintiff-defendant relationship where the initiator of the action, if a group, does not appear. Research is necessary in each case to discover the origin of the stimulus and, even when pursued diligently, is not always successful.

At the same time, although lobbying goes on all the time, lobbying regarding any particular subject may be discontinuous and erratic. Here, even more than in the immediately preceding situation, we are lacking in data almost completely. Such data as are available, together with other data on group attention and effectiveness in the executive and judicial branches, suggest a cycle of policy-making, a cycle of four stages: prelegislative, legislative, administrative, and judicial. Since data to substantiate this hypothesis are fragmentary, it is too early to claim proof, although in such fields as retail price fixing, antimonopoly, social security, housing, civil rights, and education, to mention a few, studies are available which support such a view. In these fields as in others, a voluntary association, a multipurpose organization, a catalytic group, or some other, pushed a problem, a situation, or a proposed solution into the arena of public discussion, insisted on legislative consideration, followed the enactment of Congress to the administrative field, and, if necessary, defended the legislation in the courts. If the courts threw it out its supporters returned to Congress for another round of the cycle.

In addition to the characteristic of cyclical continuity, group effectiveness appears to operate so as to favor special rather than general interests, to embody partial rather than complete solutions, and in some cases results in bad policy by almost any standard. The debate over whether policy attributable to political pressure promotes the public interest is never-ending. In recent years it has ebbed and flowed, reached into Congress, engaged some of our best minds. But the outcome of the debate is inconclusive. Probably there is no resolution of this issue, surely none which will satisfy everybody. As regards the tendency to promote partial solutions, one has only to look at the policy of labor-management relations, of agriculture, civil rights, to

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corroborate this conclusion. On the quality of legislation some years ago *Fortune* Magazine asserted that "pressure groups and their lobbies have long been the despair of patriots. They have been responsible for most of the worst, most damaging governmental acts in U.S. history. . . ." The authors cited a number of enactments of Congress to illustrate their point.

In only one field, foreign policy, has scholarship examined published materials purporting to evaluate the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations in influencing the acts and policies of the government. After careful scrutiny of many works on foreign policy which examined the effectiveness of nongovernmental organizations, these studies concluded, first, that we really know very little about the matter, and, second, that what we do know underscores the general ineffectiveness of these so-called pressure groups in their attempts to influence acts and policies. There are exceptions to these findings, such as repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts in 1943 and the success of the shipping industry and of the West Coast fishing industry in gaining acceptance of their demands by officials. With these exceptions, the correlation between group activity and governmental acts and policies is negative.

To this point we have been talking for the most part about the nature and extent of the popular influence exerted on the Congress. Before we leave it it may be well to say that to speak of people generally as if they influenced Congress would be true only as a manner of speaking. It is far from accurate and it may be misleading. Rather it would appear that in our governmental system we have attained a rough stabilization of the contending forces of majority rule and individual rights in an uneasy compromise between welfare democracy and special interest democracy. To speak of the people at large influencing the acts and policies of Congress is a statement which the facts, to the extent that we know them, fail to support.

Moreover, we are fooling no one but ourselves when we persist in thinking and talking about policy as if it were made by the people.

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The extent of ignorance and of misunderstanding about the nature of our policy-making is appalling. The reasons are beyond the scope of this discussion. But it may not be out of place to suggest two. One is the failure of Congress itself to perform its function of educating the people. More important is the failure of the mass circulation media to realize their full potentialities as educators of the public. Both inadequacies have been pointed out by committees of Congress and by some scholars and journalists. I will mention one, Douglass Cater, who, in his book, *The Fourth Branch of Government*, published in 1959, analyzes what he calls "the scriptwriting of the public dialogue" and concludes that "with increasing frequency, as our world responsibilities have mounted, the public dialogue seems to grow distorted and unreal." Public debate of national issues, carried on to facilitate the policy-making process but which is distorted and unreal, does not contribute to the perceptive insight in which policy-making in a democracy requires.

I can hear an objection. It would be that so long as free, periodic elections are held we need not concern ourselves about the working of government. I am ready to concede that elections are an exception to the statement that the Congress acts responsively to only a small part of the people who use their constitutional rights of freedom of speech, of petition, and of the press. I believe, however, that to conclude from this that the people have been consulted on policy in any meaningful sense is to jump to a false conclusion. It is easy to point out numerous instances in which some of the most serious public issues have been settled without benefit of popular discussion during elections. The development of fusion weapons and the rearming of Japan and Germany are but two examples. Elections in the United States are valuable and indispensable to the continued working of our democracy. But they settle only one of the two crucial questions which democratic representative government must make provision for settling. They settle the question as to who our legislative and chief executive officials will be. They do not settle the equally important question of the

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general courses of action they should follow. That, unfortunately, is left to the distorted and unreal debate which Douglass Cater discusses.

Some curbstone philosopher has remarked that the tendency of otherwise truthful men is to exaggerate at three times—before the wedding, during fishing, and after elections. Our habit of referring to public policies made by the people is an example of this tendency.

It may be objected, too, that it goes too far to claim that federal executive officials and the courts are likewise influenced by special groups of the people. Many years ago, Mr. Dooley, our court jester at that time, observed that there was a tendency in the Supreme Court "to follow the election returns." There is a grain of truth here. But a study of the court activities of some of our groups may be more instructive. The Supreme Court and the lesser courts do not follow the election returns nearly as closely as they apply themselves to the questions put to them insistently by pressure groups acting through their legal and educational funds. Some among us may recall the activities of the American Liberty League in attempting to get the courts to overrule the legislation of the New Deal. Others may be cognizant of the results in labor legislation decisions achieved in the courts by the National Consumers League. There are other examples of this variety of pressure groups which have come under study. None, however, surpasses the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the success it has attained in the answers which the courts have given to its questions. Since 1954 and the Supreme Court desegregation decisions in the public school cases, this voluntary association has received much attention from the newspaper and periodical press and the other mass circulation media. The reason, of course, is the persistence which the NAACP has shown in obtaining enforcement through the district courts following its original initiative in getting the cases to the Supreme Court. Only after the 1954 decision did the world become aware of the NAACP's existence. But for a quarter century this association or rather its legal and educational fund supported by tax exempt contributions, had been quietly obtaining judicial decisions

expanding the area of enforceable rights. Judicial decision rather than or in addition to legislation had long been a preferred method of obtaining shifts in the balance of social power. The founders of the NAACP turned to the courts when they found the road to civil rights legislation blocked by the operation of the seniority system in Congress which placed anticivil rights congressmen in key committee posts. The brilliant and successful use of the courts by the NAACP as an engine of social power has not been overstated in the conclusion reached by one scholar that "the NAACP has won more victories in the Supreme Court than any other single organization."

Can a similar conclusion be cited for this or any other organization in the fields in which the executive branch of government operates? So far as I am aware the answer is no. But this categorical answer should not be misinterpreted. It does not mean that in many fields of federal administrative activity citizens groups are inactive. One of the accompaniments of the welfare state has been the great increase in organizational activity on, in, and through the executive branch. There is nothing new in the influence exerted on administrators by influential individuals. The history of American local, state, and federal administration is studded with examples, some of them blatantly venal and corrupt, many more on the border line, and the vast majority in the clear. What is new is the complexity of the statutes which administrators must carry out, in the increased number of such laws, and the novel technical fields in which administrators have to operate.

It goes almost without saying that only in the smaller part of this vast area of public administration have scholars tried to find out why administrators make the decisions they do. Political scientists study public administration, sociologists study bureaucracy, economists study the budget process and public finance. But there is not enough research in the governmental process as such, the kind of study called for by a well-known journalist when he deplored the failure of newsmen to tell the people the most important story in Washington, "what

intervenes between the expression of popular will at the polls and its enactment into law."

Added to this blind spot is the almost complete absence of a satisfactory explanation why many voluntary associations which succeed in getting legislation enacted lose interest in the administration of the law. Does the driving of a law to the statute books assume a symbolic value to those who supplied the force behind the drive, causing them to feel that the job has been done and that the stated objectives of the law will be realized more or less automatically through administration? These and similar questions are raised by a student of the administrative process who suggests that in the administration of regulatory legislation especially, political support, including favorably disposed groups behind it, are effectively quieted by the bemusing effect of the very symbols employed in obtaining the favorable congressional action. In behalf of this theory it is claimed that much otherwise unexplainable quiescence and acceptance of the status quo can be explained. We do not know much more about the effectiveness of the groups in the administrative area of public affairs than we do about the effect of nongovernmental organizations on foreign policy. But we suspect that there is plenty of activity and that the intervention of representatives of citizens' groups of various kinds often influences and sometimes determines many administrative decisions.

An additional relationship must be referred to here if we are to avoid being misled into believing that there is a direct cause and effect relationship between the acts of government and the influence of people on governmental officials. Side by side and underlying the lines of authority connecting the temporary, politically-chosen officials is a subsystem or systems comprising the bureaucracy, congressional committees, and unofficial groups. The bureaucracy itself and its many differentiated parts act like pressure groups in attempting to influence governmental decisions. This has been remarked but not sufficiently studied. But I am not speaking of the bureaucracy as such but of it in its day to day, lasting, and necessary relationships to those segments of

the people who are interested and feel themselves involved directly in the programs administered by federal bureaus, plus the congressional committees and staffs on whom all the bureaucrats are dependent for salaries and expenses and upon whom both they and the involved publics depend for administration of programs. This subsystem in a sense is part of what we in this country call the Administration (with a capital A) and the British call the government. In another sense, however, the subsystem has an existence of its own. In contrast to the short term of the chief executive and of the other members of his Administration is the longer (although technically shorter) term of committee chairmen returned to Congress session after session from one-party districts. By definition the bureaucracy is permanent, at least as compared with the life of the Administration. Similarly, the groups external to the formal law-making and administrative structures but corresponding in interests have a permanence not found in the Administration. As a result, the three elements are longer lived than Administrations, are held together by different loyalties and values, (although the higher loyalties may be the same). In addition is the inertia, the resistance to change, and sometimes the defiance by bureaucrats of orders from the chief executive which every president encounters sooner or later. In a word we have here a system of power which is autonomous and separate in many of its behavior patterns from the constitutional system supposedly more authoritative but actually less powerful. Even more important is the lesser degree of accountability to the people as a whole of the subsystem as compared with the political accountability of the Administration. The behavior patterns of many of these subsystems are known to journalists and to some students of the American governmental system. They are known, too, to every special group (as differentiated from the population as a whole) with an interest in a specific government program. But to the people to whom politicians appeal for votes it is feared that the existence and the action patterns of these subsystems are unfamiliar. Much government, particularly administrative, is carried on today out of sight of the people. In many

ways they are involved but their perception of this involvement is not sharp. Thus, another force is present in the policy and action formula which expresses the relationship between the citizenry, the people in the aggregate, and the policies and actions of their officials, a force the presence of which is palpable but the significance and relative importance of which are not readily studied nor understood. But it cannot be ignored if we would understand the relationship between people and policy.

Finally, it is in order to ask some questions which are prompted by this discussion. Has democracy in the West suffered from what Walter Lippman in *The Public Philosophy* calls the obscure revolution, one brought on by the first World War and resulting in a derangement of powers in which the agents of pressure groups, the magnates of the mass media, and the party bosses have become the repositories of public power which the executive abdicated to the representative assemblies and which they in turn were unable to use? The sketch above suggests corroboration of Lippmann's interpretation. The outward form of our federal system presents the same appearance as before—power divided between the federal and state governments, federal powers separated and checked and balanced one against the other, individualism enshrined in constitutional guarantees, all designed to fractionate power and thus prevent any faction, interest, or section from gaining more than temporary control of government authority. But behind the facade, the powers have shifted, first to political parties, then to pressure groups, and now to the media of mass circulation inheriting the effective powers of the people.

Such shifts in power have occurred before. During the generation following the Civil War, lobbies (old style) were more important in the effective use of governmental power than were our chief executives, according to D. W. Brogan, Scottish-born Cambridge don, in his *Politics in America*. The shift in power from the chief executive after Lincoln to the Congress was the main lesson pointed out by Woodrow Wilson in his classic, *Congressional Government*. Not until the fif-

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teenth edition appeared in 1900 was Wilson prompted to doubt the permanence of this shift. Then he suggested that a series of strong executives, or at least stronger relative to Congress than their predecessors, had redressed the balance. The shift or derangement of powers resulting from the first World War has already been mentioned. It may well be that the revolution in communications occasioned by the discoveries in electronics has effected still another shift that is obscured from us by our being party to this revolution, the effects of which still elude us with our still rudimentary analytical tools. It is hardly an accident that two of the basic rights of natural persons, freedom of the press and of petition guaranteed by the Constitution against abridgement by Congress have been invoked most frequently by artificial persons, corporations, in claiming their liberties and thus escaping effective social control.

We are reminded of the vital meaning of public opinion in America by the recent appearance of a new edition of *The American Commonwealth*, by James Bryce, whom the editor called in his introduction "the best foreign friend the United States ever had." According to Bryce, government in America is government by public opinion. One can agree with the editor's claim that Bryce was the first political commentator to report the role of parties and public opinion in America and with his statement that "at these points he can continue to be read profitably today."

But Bryce wrote nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Now, one may well ask whether the public opinion which he wrote about is the same thing we discuss today. It may be. Also, some view the political parties in America as the great organizers of opinion. It is possible that the parties perform this job creditably during presidential campaigns, although some would doubt that. But what about the intervening four-year periods, when national party organizations are somnolent? Perhaps public opinion itself has not escaped being remade by the new methods of lobbying and of the mass circulation media and.

consequently, is a new thing, different from the governing thing which Bryce first pointed out.

Interest groups have achieved a respected and a respectable place in our unique system of democratic government. We are making some progress in our understanding of this fact. Although their function was referred to only in passing by the recent report of the President's Commission on National Goals, still it was recognized. In stating that more interest groups were needed, particularly to represent taxpayers and consumers, the Commission showed an imperfect understanding of the situation. Yet no commissioner dissented from this brief passage in the report, nor did any make any reservation to it.

Our understanding of the new place of pressure groups in government will be increased even more if pending legislation can be enacted by Congress. Adoption of the revised lobby regulation act, renamed the Legislative Activities Disclosure Act, reported favorably by the special Senate committee to investigate political activities, lobbying, and campaign expenditures in 1957, would provide wider coverage of the registration provision, better administration, and fuller data.

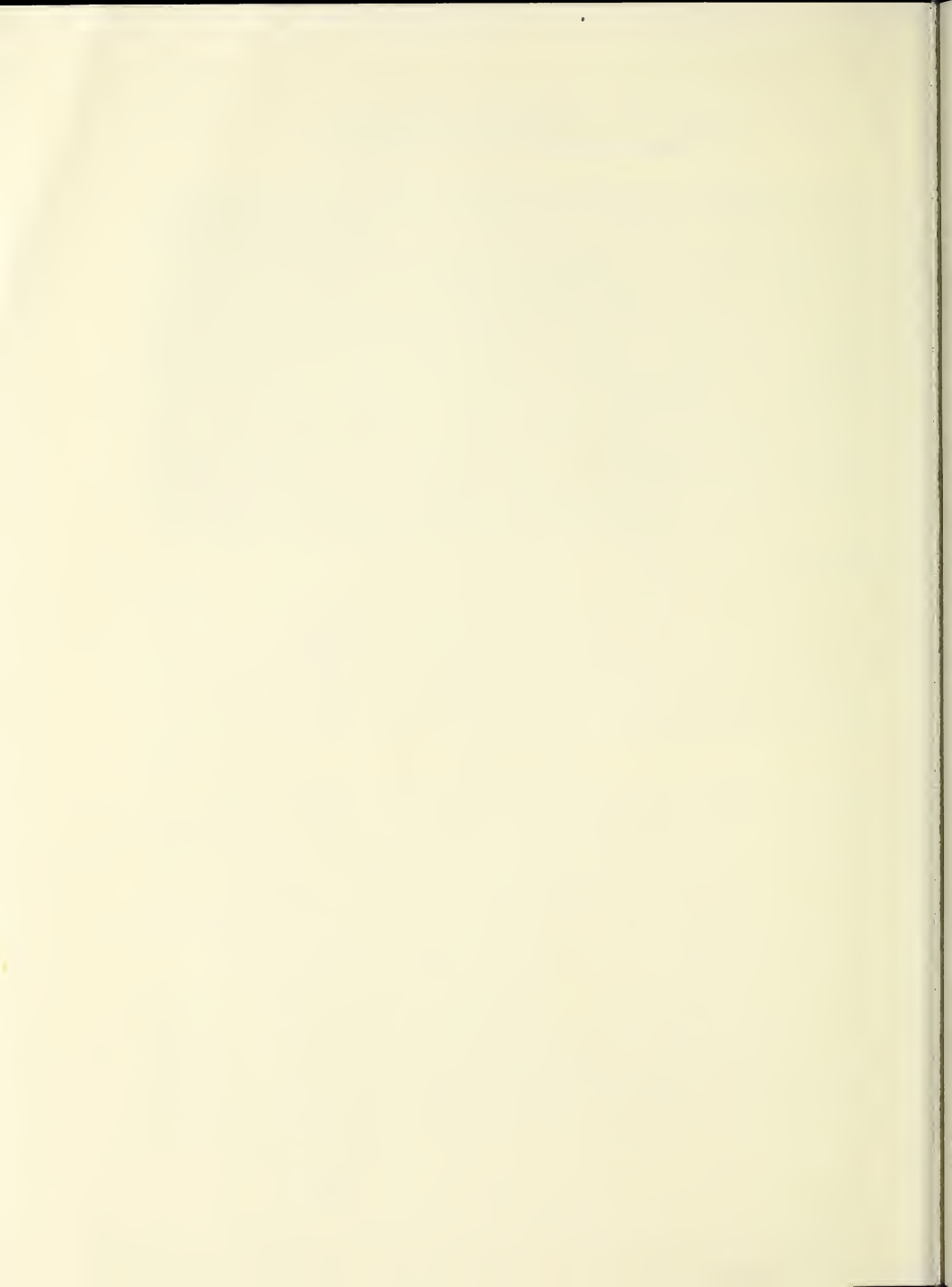
But Congress by itself cannot perform the function of better education on which fuller understanding depends. Our schools and our press, which another congressional committee ten years ago called our two greatest educational media, should take to heart the committee's admonition to recognize their responsibility to increase "public knowledge as to the nature and extent of pressure group operations."

Finally, stronger and more responsible national parties would go far to check the more questionable operations of pressure groups, thus relieving much of the pressure for special interest legislation and administration in favor of needed legislation in the general interest. Lobbyists for pressure groups are successful mainly because the political parties abdicate the political power won at the polls which the lobbyists then assume.

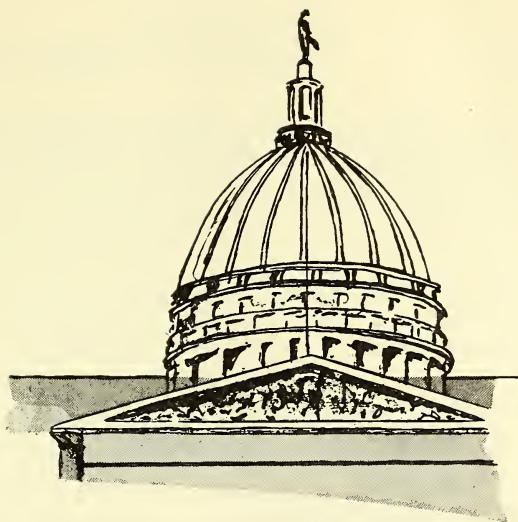
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The success of popular government is to be found in the spirit of its governmental procedures. Not only in the ringing declaration of constitutional principles is the equity of a political system to be found, but also in the ways in which these principles are applied. Free speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, the right of petition—these principles stand today as strong as when they were written into the Constitution. The great question is posed from another angle and by another branch of knowledge—science and technology, those twin conditioners of all social relations. The question is this: does our genius for making political institutions work long after the conditions which prompted them have passed contain the wisdom and the inventiveness further to adapt these institutions so as to permit them to work for the public good?



W. Y. Elliott



THE LIMITS AND COMPETENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

ANY conference that deals with a College of Journalism which has completed fifty years of its distinguished history, should certainly come to grips with the role of public opinion, not only in our constitutional democracy here, but in the rest of the world. A few brief glances at the development of the concept itself are worth putting down before we pass on to semantics and then to the nub of our problem.

Public opinion is usually treated as a very modern phenomenon, begot by the printing press and nurtured by mass media and hypochondriacal concern to measure it. Our copious and elaborate polls and "surveys" of public opinion sometimes are like taking the patient's temperature every quarter of an hour.

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But it is worth noting that public opinion, in a real sense, though a less frenetic one, was recognized by Plato as being the basis of all obedience. In *The Republic*, his whole effort was to structure and build opinion through education so as to insure that his ideal government by the wise guardians should be understood by its citizens and subjects to represent "justice," divine through the eternal forms which are usually translated as *ideas*. In his late life, in *The Laws*, he was concerned to recognize that even the wisest man could be corrupted by power. Consequently the problem of *remaining* just required those checks and balances on power which Plato put out in its first and archetypal form in his work on *The Laws*. By accepting popular participation, he showed that opinion had to be made operative and active to be effective.

In *The Republic* he had relied upon a noble fiction (or "a royal lie") to *condition* the minds of men to the acceptance of his three-class state through the concept that out of Mother Earth some men were born of gold, some of silver, and the rest of the baser metals. This was, at least, one element of Plato's use of the mythos as the basic structuring of loyalty and obedience which would render the coercion of force a merely residual factor in the politics of the true commonwealth. But it was to *rule* opinion, not to allow it free development. In *The Laws*, however, he began to see that the state must be so divided that supreme and arbitrary power could not be lodged in the hands even of his Guardian Class, supported by the soldiery. He also saw that power under the law would have to be structured in such a way as to have a balance among the classes that would include limited but recognized property rights, along with an acknowledgment of the necessity of self-interest, and *popular* participation through an assembly. *Here opinion begins to share rule and to make law.*

Aristotle's whole philosophy centers around this later concept of Plato's *Laws*, to which he, in turn, gave the characteristic development that we find in *The Nichomachean Ethics* and in *The Politics*: the "Golden Mean," the best practicable state, where the middle class

balanced the extremes and upheld a stable order, was his basis for constitutional government. Stability would permit persuasion to substitute peaceful rather than revolutionary solutions. Opinion is trusted to reason, balanced by constitutional forms and recognition of the innate virtue of moderation.

Cicero, for Roman thought, developing the Stoic conceptions of the period immediately following Alexander's sweeping Hellenization of the Mediterranean world and the Middle East, found the deepest level of public opinion as a support for *The Republic* (The Commonwealth) in a *consensus juris*, as well as in a community of utility (*communio utilitatis*). These were what characterized the association of men into an enduring commonwealth because they represented the balance of enduring interest in stability, defense, and economic adequacy on the one side (*communio utilitatis*), and, on the other, the moral obligation of the deepest level of consent which was founded upon a fundamental, broadly shared agreement on what was *just* law (*consensus juris*). Notice that the Latin *jus*, like nearly all Continental European words for law (*droit, recht, diretto, derecho*, etc.) mean both *right* and *law*.

In this way, Cicero anticipates a deeper understanding than is shown by most modern writers on public opinion. Constitutional consensus is necessary for public opinion to exist and for differences to be tolerated. If there is not an agreement on fundamentals, as Lord Balfour remarked in his Introduction to Bagehot, there is very little prospect that political processes can be limited to persuasion, that is, to parliamentary methods; and to a competition for the support of the majority opinion of the community. Party struggles fatally resort to violence for revolutionary aims without this underlying agreement on the rules of the game, and its limits. The community itself must be so fundamentally structured by agreement on its constitutional system, *including the values that are imbedded in the constitution*, that it can permit differences on the means advocated by rival groups as programs of action to achieve the kind of just laws, as well as the "community

of utility" (or welfare), that party organization and the struggle for a mandate for each party program represent in seeking the support of public opinion through votes.

In other words, there are several levels of opinion. There must be this deepest constitutional level of agreement, which is, in essence, what the social contract theorists were talking about. Indeed, it is pretty close to what the Conciliar theorists meant, even in the later Middle Ages. Marsilio of Padua was talking in these terms. But he also recognized the need for decision on issues where opinion was less united than constitutional consensus. Majority action comes in for legislation within the frame and limits of this deeper consensus. Here Marsilio spoke about the *pars valentior*. He introduced the concept of majorities and some at least elementary beginnings of theories of representation. Locke, of course, picks up the majority for legislation. But he treats the majority principle in quite different terms from those that were used by Hobbes. For Hobbes the basic equality of human beings, recognized by counting heads instead of breaking them, rests on the equality of every individual's power for mutual destruction. The logic of the social contract in Hobbes's *Leviathan* is to set up an absolute sovereign to protect life against this disturbing anarchism of the brutish state of nature. The idea of the majority, once it has set up a sovereign, disappears as any subsequent force for legitimizing political power. Force that is competent to assure order, the most necessary but elementary aspect of the rule of law, steps in with finality to take the place of the majority. The main thrust of Hobbes' argument is that one sovereign is as good as another if he will act adequately in this area of assuring security to all. The individual holds out against the sovereign only the moral right of self-preservation, exercised at need through flight. But he does not, for Hobbes, act to protect even his own life through tyrannicide or any of the other characteristic revolutionary remedies suggested by bolder spirits.

With Locke, on the other hand, the "people," in the very broad meaning of the term, comes into its own as the source of authority and

of legislative opinion. Its concern is for the protection of the rights which the original contract was set up to preserve by establishing a common judge. Locke speaks somewhat rhetorically of the "right of revolution," in terms which Thomas Jefferson took seriously in the Declaration of Independence.

But at this point the difficulties begin to emerge. Who is "*the people*"? "The poorest he that is in England," as Rainborough and Buffcoat claimed? For Locke, it certainly did not mean universal suffrage, even limited to males, in spite of the claims that the Levelers had made through Buffcoat and Colonel Rainborough in the earlier Putney Debates of Cromwell's Armies. Locke, like disciple Jefferson, believed in representation only for those having "a stake in the community." Even more than Jefferson, Locke related this participation to property. Of life, liberty, and property, property was his broadest inclusive concept for all rights, for *natural* rights. Locke could assume that the people would exercise the right of revolution only if this right, in which he believed they would all be interested even though they were not equal in their possessions, were taken away from them. This was to be the deepest general, logically universal *consensus of opinion*, the foundation of civil society. He was certainly concerned also for the traditional liberties of Englishmen and for the preservation of life as well as property. But property at the end of his list was like the coda of the Biblical faith, hope, and charity: the last should be first.

It is not uninteresting and not unintentional that Jefferson should have dropped property from the trinity of his rights in the Declaration of Independence and substituted for it the more general term "the pursuit of happiness"—some say, though I think without adequate evidence, on the urging of Tom Paine. In any case, the idea of universal adult suffrage (female as well as male) as the basis for expressing this opinion and demanding these natural "rights" of all, was very slow in coming into practice. It was not really achieved until a decade after World War I with the removal of the restrictions on so-

called "flappers" (women under 30!) in England. Even Jacksonian democracy did not remove all traces of limits in the suffrage in the United States. It took a Constitutional amendment, coming into force at the time of World War I, to enfranchise the women of the United States. And these two countries were both well up in the forefront of the democratic van.

PUBLIC OPINION AS THE BASIS OF LEGITIMACY

With the coming of the French Revolution, the consent of the governed which was the form that the legitimacy of public opinion had taken in British theory and practice and in our own Revolution, took on new dimensions and a mystique: Rousseau's *Social Contract* was a version of the "General Will" which was to make men "freer than they were before," indeed to "force them to be free." It got a twisted and startling embodiment in the successive phases of the French Revolution that led from Girondins to Jacobins and mass terror. Edmund Burke, with prophetic insight, showed that this enthronement of "King Mob" was, in effect, to substitute the divine right of the people for the divine right of the king, equally absolute and infallible. The ultimate overthrow of the Directorate by Napoleon meant for all Europe the beginning of a revolutionary internationalism—the prelude, as Burke foresaw, of what today we call totalitarianism.

The true opinion (the General Will), Rousseau had said, if properly consulted and structured through popular assemblies in small states and infused with civic morality of a religious intensity, was the road to true freedom. But this infallible sovereign might serve as a prelude also for Marx's dictatorship of the proletariat, disciplining the people into an ultimate "withering away of the state" before leaping into complete anarchy—Marx's communist version of "forcing men to be free."

We begin to close in on our modern period by noting that opinion, resting on beliefs, has gone with Rousseau and Marx back full

cycle to Plato and the acceptance of a political myth as the basis for legitimacy. This indoctrinated mythos (Marxism) serves also as the dictatorial basis for the organization of the state and the enlistment of obedience on the part of its people. The original meaning of the word "opinion" did not convey this complete commitment. It conveyed only the idea of belief—a leaning, on balance of evidence and emotion, toward one side or another, based upon whatever forces decided attitudes, either of individuals or of groups.

What I have tried to show, by way of setting our subject, is that from the earliest beginnings the great theorists of politics have insisted that the deepest level of opinion carried with it not only a general (or public) *attitude* toward questions: If there is to be a *public* opinion there must be *either* a basic commitment which enables opinion to be formed. This commitment (as sense of moral obligation to obey laws) was grounded either in myths and indoctrination, or in commitment by rational persuasion such as Cicero and the Stoic tradition stressed. *Only the latter can be called true opinion, in terms of "free" moral commitment:* The laws of nature laid down the conditions, including natural rights, which would safeguard the civil and political liberties through which this kind of freely developed opinion could be nurtured and made effective. It was the sole possible basis for any genuinely *moral obligation* to accept, obey, and support laws.

Note the historically documented fact that although Rousseau insisted upon the atmosphere of a town meeting or a Swiss Cantonal government, like that of his native city-state of Geneva with its direct democracy, *representation* proved to be the only possibility for shaping opinion, *through parties*, for the great national states. The participation of a broad public could only come with the printing press, the wide use of pamphlets, and the development of parties using programs and policies as tools for uniting on common professions both of purpose and of interest. It became evident in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that public opinion could be marshalled

within useful limits only by political organization, in which parties were something more than mere "brokers of opinion."

One may conclude, therefore, that opinion, as defined in terms of belief, based upon probability, is a quite different thing if it is to be free opinion than the controlled and conditioned beliefs of systems that are based upon indoctrinated methods. The latter must punish heresy and can only have a one-party system, in fact. They do not operate by rational persuasion, but by "agitation and propaganda," conditioning responses.

The starting price of freedom for opinion is pluralism of beliefs and even of legitimate parties, which can contend in peaceful elections for the control of the machinery of government under a limited mandate.

This pluralism is in itself one of the great limitations on the solidarity of public opinion as a basis of support for government action, since the essence of free opinion is freedom of association as well as of belief and thought, and its expression. The electoral systems of various countries tend to reflect the degrees of difference in terms of conflict in their party systems and often reflect, too, by the multiplicity of parties, the lack of a consensus on the basis of constitutional legitimacy, tested by the general acceptance of a single type of regime. The French system is an excellent example of historic "deposits" of really conflicting regimes and ideologies which still make the work of parliamentarianism difficult, and, for the present, almost impossible in France. The Napoleonic tradition of recourse to a strong man did not begin, and presumably will not end, with General de Gaulle.

We are so accustomed in the English-speaking countries to thinking of a struggle between two dominant parties, not very basically different in their fundamental concepts of what is just law, and united in the acceptance of the constitution itself as a working system, that we tend to forget how rare is this spectacle in the world. Fortunately, West Germany seems to have outgrown or left behind the peculiar system of proportional representation of the Weimar Republic,

the splitting up of party groups into negligible national "splinters" that made stability of the regime difficult, prior to the coming of the post-World War II system. But the French system and the Italian, too, make "parliamentarianism" a difficult and diffuse master, for whom a stronger figure like de Gaulle reflects the drift to a master.

THE LIMITS OF PUBLIC OPINION:

Those That are Inherent in the State of Culture, Those that are Rooted in Mechanical Difficulties of the Governmental Process, and Those That are Exacerbated by Rapid Technological Change and Attendant Complexity of Problems

From this brief look at the history of the development of the theories of opinion in its relation to (1) *legitimacy* and *the nature of the regime* as a basis for constitutional morality or for myth-made conformity, and (2) the nature of opinion as the basis for justifying either direct or representative democracy and the theories that parties are, in some sense, what Burke took them to be,¹ emerges the concept of *fundamental law* as opposed to executive orders or statutes. This concept of law, responsible and morally supported, includes executive action, given sufficient authority within the framework of the Constitution, responsible government, yet limited government, and government by parliamentary institutions, that is, by persuasion depending upon the rationality of the electorate.

In some sense these all come down to government either as a direct mandate from the people on all issues (the main thrust of Rousseau's argument), or by representative institutions of a parliamentary character that ask for a mandate. This mandate may be given either in unlimited terms like those which reflect the French Revolution, or in terms of parliamentary party programs. Both types of responsibility to an electorate as the final source of power involve the

¹ "Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." Edmund Burke, *Works*, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1841), I, 151.

acceptance of majorities of some character. Federal governments divide powers along territorial lines and give more emphasis to component communities as the framework for achieving both a constitutional consensus to bring together by voluntary adherence the members of the federation; or, in unitary states, component electoral units for the choice of the members on what is ordinarily, and now almost uniformly, a territorial basis.

The assumption underlying the choice for electoral units is that differences must be composed by parties within these territorial areas as a first step to subsequent composition of differences by the achievement of national programs. This is still, in nearly every mature democracy, the way in which majorities are organized in terms of the areas of electoral units and the way in which parties ask for a limited mandate. As opposed to these constitutional systems, the method of operation of dictatorships is simple and uncomplicated. It really has nothing to do with the expression of true opinion in the sense that is recognized as valid, because morally free and therefore binding. Such a moral commitment, through a free and rationally developed individual choice among real alternatives, is never permitted by a dictatorship, and it is precluded by terror in totalitarian systems.

When Victor Hugo, in his powerful diatribes against Napoleon III,² said of the plebiscite which became the normal mechanism for legitimizing dictatorships, "*C'est ou Napoleon ou l'abyme*," he meant that there was no real choice involved—it was either Napoleon or the abyss for France, since there was no alternative for which to vote. This is always the limit and the condemnation of the methods of any totalitarian or absolute rule. The percentage of votes can be manufactured after the election, if it is not forced by compulsory voting at the election. It can be made a simple matter of deciding what the arithmetic outcome should be to be credible, or at least manipulable by propaganda.

² In comparing him with the "great" Napoleon I, for instance, Hugo could say, "*Toi, son singe, marche derriere!*"

The limits of truly democratic opinion are more subtle. Opinion is really not permitted to operate in any constitutional system in such a way as to overturn the basic *consensus juris* (the Constitution) by bare majorities. In wartime we tend sometimes to permit actions of an almost authoritarian, even though not of absolute or of totalitarian, character. As a matter of survival not only on the Roman Law theory of "*salus populi suprema lex*," but also on Rousseau's admonition that where great haste (presumably from emergency) was needed, the majority did not have to be so large as he thought it might be under some other rather unspecified circumstances. Rousseau never faced the idea that constitutional processes required some way of preventing democracy from committing suicide by popular mandate, as, in fact, the Weimar Republic did under Hitler, if one consulted only the legal forms. The protection of the deepest consensus has to insist that its ground rules both for changing anything in the Bill of Rights or in the division or separation or other limitation of powers, *must require extraordinary majorities, or certainly more than usually solemn procedures*. The self-limiting aspects of the British Constitution, which require today hardly more than winning a general election where the issue is specifically one of those most fought over, may prove to be a rather tenuous barrier against fundamental changes in that ancient system of customs and of embedded institutions like the House of Lords or the Monarchy. But our own Constitution has proved to be sufficiently easy to amend so that there may be little difference in the practical degree of rigidity of the two systems.

LIMITS OF CAPABILITY OF OPINION AND THEIR SOURCES

The framework that we have briefly reviewed of what *should be*, in a sound theory of the ideal role of opinion, is a quite different matter, however, from the limits of public opinion in terms of its actual competence and capabilities. One might start off by saying that the basic framework for an analysis of competence is grounded in the

state of the culture of the community in which opinion is to be operative. At the present time there is the most dangerous tendency for Mr. Nehru to draw upon himself the mantle of voicing the "opinion of Asia" where there may be some real questions as to whether there is a clear right for him to express even the opinion of India, given the existing state of its democratic evolution and the readiness of its people. But India is certainly a much more real unit of community for the formation of opinion by processes in which persuasion and legitimacy are rooted in the development of some genuine national culture and ancient claims to a high state of intelligence for its leaders, at least, than are two other important and typical claimants to the role of expressing "world opinion."

The first of these would be the United Nations as an expression of "world-wide opinion." The chasm that runs down the line that still separates the free world from the totalitarian world of communism, and some few survivors of a Fascist model, precludes any talk of genuine universality in terms of a *consensus juris*.³ If that were not enough to destroy the idea of the legitimacy of an opinion that could only be arrived at through universality (despite Soviet and Great Power veto possibilities), the alternative of shifting over to the Assembly the mantle of representing world opinion, away from the Security Council, would run into some palpable absurdities which have not yet been recognized by those who insist on treating the United Nations as if it had legislative competence and the legitimacy to formulate some kind of so-called world law.

One must remember that today a majority of the United Nations already represents new states predominantly Afro-Asian, with no real background of historic continuity in the achievement of real self-determination, much less genuine self-government. There is even less possibility of these new countries taking responsibility for enforcing

³ See my article in Vol. II of *Yearbook of the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy*, "The Co-Organic Concept of Community Applied to Legal Analysis: Constitutional and Totalitarian Systems Compared."

and defending the regimes of law which they might create by bare majority votes in the Assembly, given the almost complete inability of some of them to establish an internal rule of law which permits the operation of even limited opinion on a two-party basis with any roots in the electorate. Remember that, when we contemplate the existing Assembly, we start off with a membership just one short of 100 today—almost double its original membership.

Add the 20 new "states" that will rapidly emerge from the colonial areas that the West has simply ceased to defend for even a transition period of trusteeship, and what are the prospects for a debased international currency that cannot possibly support anything that could be recognized as the rule of law or the protection of human freedoms of every kind? The protection of freedom is not done by incantations on some mythical "world opinion." Freedom can only be kept if nations as members are willing and able to resist effectively the most subtle political-economic techniques of communist take-over, and the pressure through nuclear blackmail to force concessions from the fainthearted in every negotiation.

When one adds a sample running from Uganda or Nyasaland, the present Portugese Colonies, British Honduras, the three Guianas—British, French, and Dutch—an odd assortment of West Indian "states," and, for good measure, Malta to flank Cyprus and Somaliland, the result will *not* be anything that could remotely be entrusted with the destiny of mankind through an expression of the "opinions," so-called. The result will be a very odd lot of new United Nations members so created and turned loose in that not very parliamentary body.

Can we hope that this madness will pass before it can achieve the destruction of the United Nations as a really valuable method of permitting the prospective evolution of responsibility? Can voting at this late stage be re-examined in terms of regrouping these newer aspirants to statehood and United Nations membership? There should certainly, in the future, if the U.N. is not to become a dangerously irresponsible forum, be levels of less than the fictional sovereign equal-

ity granted to such new states. Indeed, we should have insisted on this in the admission of Guinea, and of other split-up parts of the French Community and the British Crown Colonies and protectorates. Some of these states have hardly even a single secure tribal, to say nothing of a national, basis.

The second set of claimants to the role of expressing opinion in the world today are states like not only Nasser's Egypt, which is not more capable than the preceding lot of being called a democratic forum of opinion, but states like those which are much more than India under the domination of neutralism, only a step removed from satellite status, like Guinea and Yugoslavia. We must recognize that the opinion expressed by the rulers of an area like Kenya, if and when it emerges from colonial status, can really *not* be counted as a constructive factor in the course of world history. Kenya has little international policy beyond its desire to get rid of colonial rule. Its competence to pass on the genuine world issues that may control the destiny of the human race, such as the conditions for world disarmament, the conservation of the world's natural resources, and the introduction of technology into the various parts of the world at controlled rates, would be so small as to be ludicrous—or tragic. What will happen to its own resources is a tragic probability.

Unhappily, ludicrous or not, we continue to make genuflections to the rulers of Africa, rather than to our own concepts of what is sound in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are already beginning to structure our own internal policies too much with an eye to satisfying these critics. Some of their leaders appear to be far more racist than any prejudices that we showed in this country, even before we became concerned with the effort to remove inequities and to make substantial progress toward creating a single category of citizenship for Americans, so far as their legal and constitutional rights were concerned. We tend, by yielding to such immature minds, to deprive the great bulk of our own people who are capable of expressing, after earning it, a right to claim weight for a mature judgment on grounds

of reasonable rationality. Must we satisfy claims which, on their face, are not honored by those who make them? These critics are often asking for special privileges rather than equal privileges.

This character of the demands on us is something that the professionals who have usurped the term "liberal" falsely, consistently forget. They would like to hypnotize us into eliminating our own sound principles also from our national traditions and memories. A decent respect for the opinions of mankind we professed at our origins in the Declaration of Independence. But it was respect for an opinion valid in terms of its source, held by people who had earned the right to an opinion by the ability to think and the responsibility to act in supporting their opinions. Which one of the newly created countries can be said to qualify for having an opinion that is grounded on either of these facts or an adequate understanding of the values at stake in the present world struggle? Are we to be played upon by dancing to the emotions generated in their mass reactions by the memories of the imperialisms of other countries—not our own? Or by the skillful emotional agitation of the Communists, which is appropriately called "Agit-prop"?

There is an even more fundamental question and one that is not in the least rhetorical, which our deluded worship of opinion, under its various masks as "world opinion," or the "opinion of the neutrals or neutralists," or of "the uncommitted countries," and so on, fails to ask: Even if we could satisfy their demands on us by always making concessions to the Soviet-Red Chinese pressures, what would be the real effect of this method of "relaxing tensions" on the future of the world, or even the future of these new countries, to say nothing of our own? In the first place, the demands of these new countries arise primarily from either a complete misconception of the nature of the Russian system and a gullibility to "newspeak" and its other double talk like professions of devotion to "liberation" and to "peace" and "justice," to say nothing of "friendship." Or, alternatively, they arise from fear of being involved in the struggle of the

giants and a corollary fear of being on the losing side if they do get involved.

It would not affect the course of history in any way that would better preserve either their freedom, or our own; nor would it make the Soviet behavior really more reasonable or the Chinese more "peace loving" if we were to yield every time that neutralist pressures and the timidity of those who have witnessed Mr. Khrushchev's shoe-thumping tactics demand that we should "negotiate" by yielding.

In the course of time, it is, we hope, probable that Khrushchev's continued efforts to destroy any usefulness of the U.N. for constructive purposes may penetrate even the lack of sophistication of the leaders of new states like Ghana and Guinea. But we will not help to achieve this penetration by removing the shield of our own power to deal with the Russians or by refusing to meet them in areas where the revolutions that they are setting off and managing are not in any sense revolutions comparable to our own, nor aimed at real self-determination. We must unmask and deal with these revolutions for what they are—the baldest type of imperialistic take-over, conformed to an outside design of world domination, no matter how much agents like the Castros and Che Guevaras may profess their lack on any linkages with communist control.

LIMITS OF OPINION DUE TO THE NATURE OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

But when we approach opinion in mature states to examine its limits, even in the most highly developed states there is a problem of its competence that sets limits to public opinion in dealing with many of the things that it was for a long time fashionable to regard as essential to a "progressive view." The Progressive party, indeed, grew out of the delusion that direct democracy was the answer to the evils of democracy. When it was pointed out that the long ballot had resulted in apathy and in "bossism" in cities, the rejoinder was "Let us cure all that by *more* democracy, i.e., by the initiative referendum and

recall." The gradual decline of this nostrum, due to its proved limitations in practice, has been written through the first half of the twentieth century.

The Reform movement of today is different. Reformers ask for longer term elections for public officials, for making them less vulnerable to thin primaries, for getting genuine issues in elections so as to test and support parties in terms of both men and programs. The favorite devices for accenting differences such as the old "list" plan of proportional representation have, in the main, not proved to be the magic answer. They have tended to tie up the responsibility of the representative to a kind of commonsense general feeling that he was the best man representing the best program among the several candidates winnowed out by successful stages of elections, from the nominating primary on.

The analysis of the American party system, indeed, has now developed what amounts to a quite unusual consensus among political scientists, accenting programmatic responsibility and attempting to strengthen its hold on candidates so as to get some representation of purpose and a reduction of the vulnerability of candidates to pressure by groups and special interests or special prejudices. There has been a widespread acceptance of the need for a four-year term, paralleling the president's term, for members of Congress rather than the present two years for the lower House. Paralleling this has been an emphasis on strengthening the hands of the chief executive of the nation, as well as the governors of the states, so that each can be master of his own administrative establishment.

In other words, opinion has begun to recognize that there cannot be responsibility unless there is authority commensurate to carry out the programs which are expected of an "administration."

Although there is not unanimous support for the idea of an item veto, the practice is growing in the states, and there is a strong support for giving the President such a protection against riders which are one of the upsetting features of a separation of powers such as

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ours. In times of crisis it has been normal to depend upon strengthening the man to whom the largest electorate looks, either in the presidency or in the governor's chair.

But there is also a recognition that the legislature remains the best general mirror of opinion about a wide variety of cases; that it must not be made functional; that special interests and pressure groups must be curbed by stronger party responsibility and by protecting the legislator against them by an electoral system that does not keep him perpetually running for office with his ear to the ground—an awkward posture for a statesman.

One of the difficulties with having a strong president for a fixed term is that there is no way to get rid of a weak one under our system. Indeed there is no effective way of breaking a deadlock between a president and a hostile legislature, given the four-year term of the president and what is becoming an increasing practice of facing him with a legislature controlled by a different party in one or both chambers of Congress.

The parliamentary device of forcing out a weak president by an adverse vote is not really available in our day even to the British type of parliamentary systems. Votes of no confidence have almost ceased to operate in the United Kingdom and are extremely rare even in the Dominions which follow the British model. The fact is that a fixed mandate of four years here in the United States could, even if it were legally possible to accomplish it, be upset under present world conditions only with such disruption that it might well seem better to bear a weak president and force him into line by the pressures of opinion and legislative action than to try to get rid of him and start all over again in the middle of his term. The power to force him out of office by a general election would, in any case, be less useful than would a right on his part to call a general election once in the four-year term that he would share with the House of Representatives.

The Congressional system of the United States has, at least, the defects of its virtues: it does permit a degree of bipartisanship in sup-

port of the basic national policies that has so far helped an active president to exert his leadership. No recent president, even when facing a Congress of an opposite party, has had to complain about lack of legislative support in foreign policy and defense matters. Given the conservative character of Southern Democrats, opinion is not apt to be split along class lines, and there is a sort of center to our politics, as Samuel Lubbe has shown, that is an operational stabilizer against extremes in either direction. However, foreign aid may break this spell of bipartisan support by Southern Democratic defection from a program endorsed by a Democratic president.

DOES TECHNOLOGY INCREASE THE RANGE AND
COMPETENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION?

Historically, the drift away from democracy toward a more authoritarian and centralized form of government with increasing controls over the formation of opinion available to the government has accompanied the growth and the complexity of the affairs of state. Any country that runs a large empire and is perpetually at war is likely to cease to be a democracy, on the witness of history. The British Empire was unusually successful in avoiding the drains of war, and it ceased to be an empire rather than cease to be a democracy. But Egypt, China, and Rome early became empires under these pressures.

CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGY AND THE "LIMITS"
OF PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion, which is translated into terms of something approaching Rousseau's "Direct Democracy" and operates on a more and more majoritarian principle, tended to become, in the first half of this century, both in this country and partly in Britain, the source of all legitimacy for government and the unchallenged sovereign whose powers were regarded as absolute as those of the days of the divine right of kings. In the United States the Progressive movement, which was powerful enough to contest the 1912 presidential election that re-

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sulted in the Democratic party triumphing through Woodrow Wilson, tended to decline after this high-water mark of Teddy Roosevelt's leadership.

It may have been the failure of the League of Nations to carry the day in the United States after World War I that began to sour the intellectuals on the claims of public opinion. Mr. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, a later president of Harvard University, had even earlier written a sober and balanced account of the nature and limits of public opinion which he called *Public Opinion and Popular Government*. A. F. Bentley had introduced in his pioneer book on *The Process of Government* a new conception of groups as the real sources of political power, with a tendency to challenge the reality of parties as the dominant means of formulating opinion.

The contemporary analysis which this work initiated puts its chief emphasis on the play of groups—both interest and propaganda groups—as a source of the pressure politics that are so obvious in our own system. This new social bent tended to shift the study of social and political scientists to motivations and to a clinical, often pseudo-scientific, analysis in terms that were thought to be “realistic,” of the ways in which the struggle among groups to realize their own interests generated opinion and sometimes controlled it.

Marxism had, of course, challenged the whole validity of the concept of democratic opinion by treating it as a false front (what Marx called an “ideology”) of rationalization for the deeper, underlying class struggles which were the only social dynamics recognized by the grossly oversimplified Marxian analysis. The “economic interpretation” of history and especially of politics in the United States, though it was in some basic ways indebted to Marxism, was never quite so limited in its interpretation of economic motivation as was classic Marxian determination. But economic interpretation became the fashion of the debunking period of our scholarship. These, too, tended to throw discredit upon the professed motives and moral claims to “platforms of principle” of our political parties.

This school, which included such important academic figures as Charles A. Beard, and to some degree Seligmann at Columbia, and my colleague Arthur Holcombe at Harvard, added to the erosion of the stereotyped views of public opinion. The old simple idea of opinion, grounded upon the kind of Stoic conceptions of reason operative in all men, had sought a solution based on the free market of ideas. It had simply added these all up or resolved them by the single process of voting. That was no longer even considered an intellectually respectable notion. Pressures made opinion the resultant rather than a mere sum.

The moral ingredient, in short, of policies realized through party programs was subjected to a debunking analysis which eventually led the young Walter Lippmann, after World War I, to talk about the "stereotypes" of opinion. In his first work on *Public Opinion*, in which he introduced this term, he thought it possible to rescue opinion from ignorance, as well as from mere prejudice and habits of mind, by some sort of official fact-finding information center that would give out at least as much of the truth and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as was available to selected and objective pundits, presumably with qualifications like those of Mr. Lippmann himself. His later works showed some lack of consistency in holding this "disinterestedness" to be the supreme need for morality and judgments on it, though he reverted to that theme in *A Preface to Morals*.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Lippmann lived by his persuasiveness in trying to influence opinion as a journalist, as a "public philosopher" he grew increasingly pessimistic in the period after the Scopes trial on the evolution issue (where William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow had broken lances over the educational laws of Tennessee). I remember Mr. Lippmann telling a group of us at a Harvard Visiting Committee dinner that the "monkey trial" had soured him on this kind of public opinion.

In the *Phantom Public*, Mr. Lippmann wrote off the possibility of "the public" ever arriving at an insight into the true merits of the

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issues involved since (according to Mr. Lippmann) the public could not be an "insider." Only the insiders, that is, the *interested* parties, could know in all its fullness the nature of the issues concerned in any clash, with all their bearing on the true issues. Therefore, the public could only hold the ring and apply a Marquis of Queensbury rule among the insiders who were fighting it out. He leaned to the judicial settlement of these issues in a later work called *The Good Society*, presumably feeling that some "outsiders" had to fill the place assigned by Locke to "a common judge" of their disputes. The "Brandeis Brief" method of putting all the sociological, economic, and technical facts into this hopper for decision still ruled out the legislature or the public behind it: it would have extended the judiciary into the process of making laws, on the merits of the most elaborate assessment of "the facts," so elaborately marshalled.

Characteristically, Mr. Lippmann changed this position several times in his later books, and wound up by calling for *The Public Philosophy*, which no one (with the possible but not clear exception of Mr. Lippmann) has ever been able to discern either as a system or a defined goal, from the book by that name.

Nevertheless, the effort to find a public philosophy which would structure public attitudes and apparently give them such moral validity as Mr. Lippmann sought to find for them at this later stage of his career, was a significant return to the fundamental problems of opinion, and the levels of opinion that have haunted political philosophy since Plato.

NECESSARY SECRECY AS A LIMIT ON PUBLIC OPINION

Nowhere more than in the field of national security policy and in the concomitant aspects of foreign policy are the difficulties of public opinion more emphasized today by a new chorus of lamentations, "jeremiads" on the impossibility of a democracy ever controlling a strong foreign policy; or, for that matter, even creating one. Max Beloff, one of our more trenchant British critics, who, like most

Englishmen, finds the American system displeasing in its complexity—separation of powers, federalism, checks and balances, and the like—also finds that public opinion is simply not capable of grappling with the real issues that underlie foreign policy. Of course, this superior judgment (a little odd, in the light of some British failures of an even clearer sort) depends on what he means by *all* the words involved, including both *public* and *opinion*; it also depends on what he thinks is the range and depth of foreign policy *in those parts that are crucial to the understanding or the expression of attitude by wide sectors of the public, and particularly by political parties.*

I ought to admit at the outset that I have joined with some distinguished collaborators, in a book called *United States Foreign Policy: Its Organization and Control*, in raising some doubts about the competence of opinion to operate in such important areas as, for example, the net capabilities of weapons systems.⁴ The secrecy with which both our own weapons systems and more particularly those of the Russians, and probably those of the Chinese Communists, are cloaked for inevitable reasons of security makes the truth very difficult to assess, even with the aid of a press so little security-conscious as is the American press and that of a good part of the rest of the free world.⁵

In other words, a large part of the necessary data on which an informed public opinion might be able to operate is ruled out of bounds; and the leaks and varying assessments of intelligence which are available to the public are often motivated by the special interests involved, or at the very best faulty and very incomplete and unbalanced, in terms of a total picture. Anyone who has operated as a member of the National Security Council Planning Board, with access

⁴ As Chairman of a Study Group for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation composed of McGeorge Bundy, Don K. Price, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and George Kennan, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952).

⁵ See speech of President Kennedy before the National Publishers Association, New York City, *New York Times*, April 28, 1961, and the testimony of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara before the Senate Armed Services Committee, *New York Times*, May 11, 1961.

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to the whole range of intelligence available, knows how difficult are judgments even to the official insiders, even when based on data and resulting judgments at least as well informed as any. Yet they have to act as best they can. For the public at large, the images and partial representations involved in our world of shifting technology and political forces are strikingly like Plato's shadows cast by figures in his classic analogy of prisoners chained in the Cave, often grotesquely exaggerated and out of focus.

But these are not the only limits of public opinion. A very large part of recent psychological study and analysis would tend to throw doubt on the competence of even very rational people to reach the kind of "enlightened" attitudes (whether they were calculated on self-interest or on a philosophical scheme of moral values) of the sort that was taken for granted by the rationalism of the eighteenth century and the thinking of the Enlightenment. Even Voltaire, a true child of the Enlightenment, showed in *l'Ingenu* how relative a man's opinions might be to his upbringing by his description of the European youth brought back to the French source of his civilization after a childhood spend among the Iroquois—a topic that suggests some hint of borrowing on the part of Aldous Huxley for his hero in the *Brave New World*. Psychology has gone further and has in many cases reached very pessimistic conclusions about the conditioning of men's minds both by cultural and environmental factors and by studied efforts to treat human beings as Pavlov did his experimental dogs.

Professor Skinner of Harvard, continuing the behaviorist tradition among psychologists, has written in *Walden Two* what, to an old-fashioned mind, seems a dreadful image of the fate of humanity if the psychologists ever were able to assume the role of "the philosopher kings" to whom Plato looked for the guidance of his archetypical utopia, *The Republic*, which Plato found not utopian as contrasted with the *Atlantis* myth of the *Critias*.

The contemporary books are most pessimistic that are closest to the model utopia (a forecast of the kind of regulated state of the

future). They have taken the place of the optimistic "perfectionist" utopias like that of Sir Thomas More, and the whole range of its successors up to the time when H. G. Wells appended a chapter called "Skepticism of the Instrument" to his book, *A Modern Utopia*. Few could take comfort from Huxley's *Brave New World*, either in the original or *Revisited*. Nothing could be more grim than George Orwell's *1984*. It is not a satire as was his *Animal Farm*. It is unblinking acceptance of savage reality as it may come to be under totalitarian Communism; *When the Kissing Had to Stop* brings us up to date—or we hope beyond.

Opinion in *1984*, as in the *Brave New World*, is simply remolded to suit the needs of the changing needs of rulers, involving a perpetual rewriting of history, of which we have seen some recent examples, following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin.

But it can be urged that this is opinion considered under conditions of *un-freedom*. What are the prospects of retaining freedom in such a way as to make opinion less vulnerable to manipulation? The answer to this question is going to be a supreme test of what are the genuine limits of opinions as an anchor for legitimacy, a shield for responsible patriotism, and a sword with which to carry the moral and spiritual offensive to the enemy. There are many factors that open up a free system to being played upon, as Hamlet taunted his guard-companions Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, with trying to play on him like a flute. An open system, perforce, permits the weapons of freedom to the servants and the agents of a controlled conspiracy to destroy freedom. The Communist party of the United States has the effrontery to appeal to all American liberals, especially to Labor, to reverse the Supreme Court—in the name of freedom!

Front organizations serve this purpose. They serve, also, to relate the sources of funds and the careful manipulation of resources, sponsored by more or less innocent intellectuals, that run the gamut from unilateral disarmament to recognition of Red China and "Cuba protest meetings," of which members of the organizing Committee,

"Fair Play for Cuba," could boast that 134 were to be held in colleges all over the country. The term "Committees of Correspondence" has been taken over by a clever appropriation, very little short of theft, from its honorable history in our own Revolutionary period and used by the sponsors of many of these measures and causes.

The active director of the Santa Barbara Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, who is Vice President of the Fund for the Republic as a deputy to Mr. Hutchins, has given public advocacy in letters to the press (circulated by the Committee for Enduring Peace) to a preference for unilateral surrender more explicit even than Bertrand Russell's usual pronouncements in the "better be Red than dead" line.

Yet, if one points out these tendencies and the way in which the self-styled intellectuals who back them operate in manners that can ultimately serve no other ends than those of the Sino-Soviet Bloc, one is accused of not only being a "Reactionary," as opposed to something now falsely usurping the title of "The Liberal." Preserving freedom at the cost of sacrifices and risks is no longer "liberal"—if the new liberality with our future under freedom succeeds in posing as the defender of the Republic and of the human race's future. Critics of this line are herded into the same category as that of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, or the even more misguided efforts of the head of the John Birch Society (Mr. Welch), which the Kremlin must greet with glee equal to the discovery of an ally like Cyrus Eaton.

The outcry which goes up with well-coordinated volume from these and other groups of appeasers would lump together with these "broadside" and false patriots all people who detect and make publicly known the uses that some very highly and well-heeled sources find for misguided pacifists and chronic perfectionists. This counter-attack on those who would defend freedom amounts to a sort of reverse of "guilt by association," sweepingly applied to those who opposed both McCarthyism and Welchism, yet who equally insist upon having the right to defend themselves against false friends as well as

against more open enemies. We have to recognize and meet effectively the insidious enemies of our freedom who would impose their ideas of "negotiating" peace, not preserving it, along with justice and freedom through strength.

That this divisive force is a serious weakness of our democracy is attested by the numbers of often very high-minded and certainly quite innocent people who spend most of their energies in castigating the President of the United States for an effort to restore freedom to Cuba. They sign protests for "hands off Cuba" not merely in order to act more wisely and effectively, but with the accepted intention to leave Fidel Castro, now openly a controlled Communist, the open boss of Cuba, free to create active aggression in the Americas, launched from an outpost of Moscow at our back door. This outpost, first run by Che Guevara, who escaped after his failure in Guatemala, has already launched armed attacks on its neighbors, most clearly in the Castro-mounted landings of military forces to take over the Republic of Panama from Cuban bases. It is highly significant how few of these same voices of criticism from the "hands off Cuba" group and its allies, could be heard, or how few of these names appeared to condemn the bloody suppression of the Nagy regime that had been recognized by Khrushchev and Company in Hungary, or the equally savage repressions of efforts to retrieve some remnants of freedom in Poland and in East Germany. The defenders of Castro's center for Moscow-directed aggression in the Americas are certainly no friends of freedom in countries that try to escape the domination of Moscow. Why the difference?

Opinion in the United States, if judged by any sort of index like letters to the editor, and demonstrations and protest meetings called by these groups, would indicate a quite different volume of popular backing than when it is registered by the more sober reflection of opinion which we have set up in our constitutional democracy through our Congress. The efforts of these same groups to destroy not only the House un-American Activities Committee, but any other committees of Congress, including the Senate Judiciary Committee, that system-

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atically reveal the connections of front organizations to their masters, have met a resounding rebuff in Congress every time a vote has been taken. With the exception of certain very open spokesmen for the party-line view, like Vito Marcantonio, fortunately no longer in the House, there were few votes in Congress to destroy the committees whose business it is to protect the sources of American opinion and the information channels, including the mass media of communications, whose poisoning can be serious and systematic.

Opinion as Reflected in and Influenced by the Mass Media

This business of the influence of the mass media of communication, of which one may especially single out television, also raises new dimensions of the problem of the limits of public opinion as well as of its competence.

There is something so insidious about the repeated exposure of immature minds of all ages, through the repeated impact of TV, that it is very difficult to gauge how suggestible, as a nation, we may turn out to be.

Since I edited and wrote considerable parts of a book on *Television's Impact on American Culture* a few years ago, I have developed a sort of horrid fascination in analyzing the image of most of the types of citizens who occupy some positions of respect or authority in our system that are presented on the TV screens night after night, with too few variations in the pattern.

There are some outstanding exceptions where virtue triumphs and human beings exhibit decency, kindness, justice, and even mercy. But the vast range of detective thrillers, Westerns, or what used to be more honestly called Westerns, and of similar variations on the noble savage struggling with the ignoble white man, show an almost uniform picture of villainy, sadism, or simple brutality and cruelty of the men of law and the men of substance or legal authority that cannot but have an eroding effect on one's faith in one's fellow man—and in our own civilization.

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There are those who suggest that this flood of malice, crime, and legally applied trickery or violence liberates and so eliminates the impulses of violence and crime through what the antique schools of Freudian psychiatry called "sublimation." There are others who take some comfort in the fact that a great many adult minds learn the protection of merely never turning on the screen, or of turning it off after a brief sampling.

On the other hand, there are so many really good things available and so many necessary programs of politics, sports, drama, or news or basic information, that the lazy habit of skipping from station to station in hopes of something better is usual. We have opened up the inner chambers of our impressionable natures to a force that may have demoniac propensities. Not everyone has been able to take the high line that an eccentric like Thoreau could take about the press of his own times, when he wrote characteristically: "Why should I pollute the empyrean temples of the mind with the sweepings of the common streets?"

But, on balance, one must attempt to overcome evil with good, as Chairman Minow of the F.C.C. has announced his hope of doing by persuasion. In some measure this is being done by improving programming, by putting on real drama instead of the cheapest excitement or the anodyne of perpetual wisecracking and "entertainment." The TV has also pretty certainly extended the *range* of public opinion, in the sense of judgments formed with good as well as potentially evil effects. In an age when we live so much in the atmosphere of crises that human beings cannot tear away their fascinated eyes and their captured ears from the daily news that spans the world with select images of everything from the news commentators' resuscitation of the nightmares of the Eichmann trial to "trial by TV" of a political, even a presidential, campaign, it is impossible really to escape the present. One is more apt to be projected into the future by the universal fascination of the ventures of astronauts and the marvels of technology in which we take such comfort as we can. It has proved to be possible

to have both aesthetically satisfying and dramatically convincing features, as well as a vast extension of the educational process.

We can grant the increased perception and broader judgment that is often induced by the habit of TV listening. But what of the form of the debate which tends to emphasize "the quiz kid" type rather than the statesman? We are in danger of turning over to the Fourth Estate of the press and the commentators the inquisitorial function in our society. It is hard to draw up a balance sheet that doesn't show red ink. Perhaps every new tool that humanity has mastered has proved to be two-edged in many ways, just as luxury and freedom from want can both create a high civilization and a period of inspired art, and at the same time enervate the strength of a society.

What we have to assess in our own limited way as children of the twentieth century is whether we shall be borne on to the development of greater moral responsibility and a higher appreciation both of truth and beauty, or whether, on the other hand, we are like the Daedalian children whose wings may bear us into space but not into greater personal moral responsibility and growth as human beings, essaying in some way to relate ourselves to the divine in the universe. This is the Sphinx's riddle of our time.

How shall we cope with such problems? They lie beyond the scope of such pontifications, various as they are, as we get from some of our commentators or even from presumably wise men and scholars. The oracular forces speak with varying types of arrogance and petulance about affairs at home, and timidity and gullibility about troubles abroad, coupled with a lack of insight unworthy of their assumed role of prophets and oracles. Honorable exceptions in both journalists and commentators hardly assure the balance.

Our problems are not capable of solution by simple formulae and are certainly not likely to be solved simply by the mere removal of tensions by continuous concession or of one form of self-interest through eliminating the profit motive. It is like expecting the state

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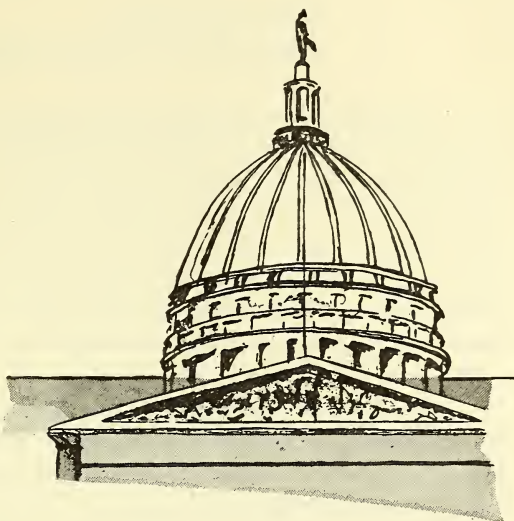
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to wither away after a period of savage dictatorship and the conditioning of humanity into so many trained animals.

Our problem is to have an opinion which is both free and responsible, which admits the necessity of unity and discipline in communities that are worthy of the name and prepared to defend their right to development against subtle subversion or take-over by nuclear blackmail or by any other variations of force. To do this requires journalism of a type which in some outstanding and, alas, too rare instances sets a tone of integrity as well as professional competence. It requires bringing the best wisdom of our society and other free societies to the task of establishing and maintaining the community of the true values on which whatever is lasting and best in the civilization of our times can and will endure.



Douglass Cater



WHAT HINDERS THE REPORTER'S EFFORTS TO REPORT NATIONAL AFFAIRS?

WITH a new administration and its attendant new efforts to arrive at policies and programs, the reporter in Washington is confronted with dilemmas that are not unfamiliar to him. Things are in flux. In his effort to report the news he must spend a substantial part of his time in that murky no man's land where what he learns is given him on a "background" or "leak" basis. He knows that much of what he gets is provided by sources who have special reasons for wanting the news to get out in unorthodox ways. The responsible reporter is acutely aware that he may sometimes be serving as an unwitting agent for confusion in his effort to explain what is going on in the business of government.

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Take the case in which a front page story in a Washington newspaper related that the Secretary of State had, in a private memorandum to the Secretary of Defense, made certain startling proposals. "Among other things," it was reported, "Mr. Rusk suggests that even massive attacks on Europe should be met with conventional weapons." Another of Mr. Rusk's proposals, according to this account, was that "localized attacks against our allies outside of Europe would be met largely by United States troops using conventional weapons instead of by troops of the country under attack."

Reaction to this story was prompt and incredulous. Members of Congress speculated whether Mr. Rusk had taken leave of his senses. Around the world our allies and enemies alike had cause to wonder what was happening in Washington.

Actually, what Mr. Rusk was trying to do was perfectly understandable. In his private memorandum, he was attempting to initiate the kind of informal discussion between the foreign policy makers and the military planners that has long been lacking and which is essential to the evolution of national strategy. He addressed himself to two major problems inherited from the Eisenhower Administration. The first was how, in the strategist's jargon, to raise the "nuclear threshold" so that the first outbreak of fighting in Europe or elsewhere will not lead automatically to an atomic holocaust. The second was how to strike a proper balance between our own limited war forces, particularly those capable of fighting the so-called brush fires that break out around the perimeter of the free world, and the forces of certain allies which may not be using our military aid to build real situations of strength.

These are legitimate problems that a Secretary of State ought to be raising with a Secretary of Defense. There is need for full and frank discussion before policy is developed and makes its way to the President for approval or disapproval.

What happened in this case has an additional complication. The reporters who wrote the story had not been shown the Rusk

memorandum. Instead, they were provided an "interpretation" of it. Of course the reporters felt duty bound not to reveal their source—and no reporter ever asks another reporter how he learned something—but the best guess is that the news was leaked by proponents of the old theory of massive retaliation, mainly located in the Air Force, who are fearful of any new ideas that may reduce their primacy and their appropriations. The theory is that the best way to destroy an undeveloped policy, like an undeveloped film, is to expose it to the premature glare of publicity.

But they went further than that. In leaking the news about the Secretary's memorandum, they deliberately distorted it to make his views the more untenable. The mere addition of a dozen words or so of clarification could have taken much of the sensation from the story. But in the communication process—from official source to reporter to reader—these essential words got left out. The resulting publicity undoubtedly served to disrupt the dialogue that was going on within the government—not to mention the damage it may have done to the orderly development of policy with Congress and our allies. Here in short, was a disturbing case study of how the press did a grave disservice to the communication process we are supposed to serve.

Just three years ago, I had the opportunity to travel around the world for ten months on a fellowship. As my subject of study I choose to look into the relations between government and the press in four major types of government—in England, Germany, India, and in the Soviet Union. And I came back more acutely aware than ever of the unique role played by the press, by the news media in general, in the American system. Of course, in the Soviet system the press is important; it is part of a closed system of communication. The Soviet editor and reporter tell you quite frankly that the Soviet press is an instrument of the Party and the government for the education of the people. This provides for them a fairly simple theory of their role in the scheme of things. But even in the parliamentary system, such as in Great Britain, one discovers that the role of the press is quite distinctly different from

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that in the American system. In Great Britain, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister report in the first instance to the House of Commons. It is there, as political scientists would say, that the locus of power is. And the press serves more as a bystander on the sidelines, reporting and commenting on the business of government.

In the American system, the reporter is caught up in the whole churning process of government. I think the Constitutional reasons for this are not too hard to seek out. Our founding fathers said that they created a government in which there was a separation of powers. Yet as Richard Neustadt has pointed out in his brilliant study, we don't really have a separation of powers at all. We have separated institutions sharing powers. The Congress shares powers with the Executive; the President certainly shares legislative powers with the Congress. What we have, and what we've developed with the growth of modern government in Washington, is a system of fragmented power in which the communication process within the government itself is absolutely indispensable to the conduct of orderly government. It is here that the reporter plays a role in the business of government in addition to serving as a communicator about government to the public.

Frequently these two roles bring him into conflict with himself. He often finds himself caught in a major dilemma in this business of communication. We have developed, with the growth of big government, with the growth of the mass communications system with all of its wonders, what might be called a system of government by publicity. The way policies and programs are publicized has a great deal to do with the development of those policies and programs. We have developed certain institutions of publicity in Washington which have grown up quite haphazardly, without orderly plan or scheme, but which are nevertheless quite indispensable. One of the chief of those institutions, of course, is the President's press conference and all the attendant press relations of a President.

It has been said that one day Theodore Roosevelt looked out of the White House and saw a group of reporters huddled in the rain

outside the northwest gate. Being a compassionate man, he invited them in. It was the proverbial story of the camel and the tent. Today the reporters have their office in the northwest wing of the White House; they subject the President and his callers to their constant surveillance and interrogation; they travel in great hordes wherever the President travels, their plane taking off just behind the President's plane, landing just ahead of it so that in the event of a crash at least the flow of publicity will not be disrupted.

The reporter has that unique privilege in our system of government of standing up and addressing a question to the President of the United States which becomes a matter of official record. This is awesome evidence of the role that the reporter plays, the role that the reporter himself sometimes neglects in the business of government.

Congress, too, has developed its publicity institutions. It's been no surprise that with the decline of the traditional powers of Congress—over the purse strings, over the drafting of treaties, over the making of laws—Congress has turned with increasing fascination toward publicity as an instrument of power to be exerted in its competition with the President. It is now the highest aspiration of a young congressman to build up the necessary seniority to become a subcommittee chairman and get a committee of his own in order to go off on a publicity probe that will win headlines and turn the spotlights of the press upon him as an important individual in the business of government.

There has been the development of the subrosa publicity system which is known as the "background" or the "leak." Reporters gather in small groups or as individuals with officials and get their news via the back door. There are all manners of covert news such as "deep" background, or knee deep background, or off the record. Various shadings of publicity go with each.

The real power of the press, much more than its traditional editorial power, is the power to select among the hundreds of thousands of words that are spoken daily in the business of government,

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among the myriads of events that are staged in order to attract public attention, which are to receive attention and which, like trees falling in a forest where there is no ear to hear, crash silently to the ground. It is here that the press has its creative function—the function of selecting what it considers important, what deserves to be on page one, which is buried inside the paper, what is ignored altogether. When we examine the whole problem, with the proper sense of importance of the press, we have a better basis for looking at some of the dilemmas that confront the reporter as he goes about his work. He is a historian with a deadline. And certainly one should always be compassionate in judging the shortcomings that occur constantly in the business of reporting.

I would like to list some of the dilemmas that occur to me. First, there are the dilemmas that arise out of what might be called the art forms of reporting—the confines of space and style that limit the business of trying to describe adequately the intricately complex business of government. All of us are aware of the limitations of our craft as we try to do this. Particularly, those who are engaged in the constant deadlines of the wire service reporter have to resort, as they do, to St. Vitus dance reporting in which the first paragraph must attempt to give a full enough story so that a copy editor somewhere in the country can cut off the story anywhere along the way and fit it neatly into the limited space available in his particular paper.

A second set of dilemmas arise from the technological revolution that has overcome our profession. There have been great changes since that day of the advent of the typewriter and the telephone when the reporter first learned that he could sit at his desk and get much of his work done. The story is told that when the telephone first came, a reporter on a bet called up the White House one evening. When the president answered the phone, the reporter inquired as to what was news. Getting news has become a great deal more complicated since then. When the telegraph was first stretched between Maine and Texas, Henry David Thoreau asked, "But what has Texas got to say

to Maine?" With the marvelous facility that we have, now that the word spoke in Washington can within a few instants be communicated to the citizen in Dubuque, we don't often enough ask, "What has Washington got to say to Dubuque?" Reporting has become a constant flow process. The reporter is no longer the twenty-four hour historian who tries to wrap up each day in a way that is meaningful to the citizen. Nowadays news is regarded as something that goes out in a constant stream from Washington. The newspaperman is constantly aware of the competition with the new media for instantaneous communication such as television and radio. He knows that even before he can get the words typed onto the printed page the television report has already reached the citizens.

There is a third set of dilemmas in the very economics and logistics of journalism. We have, I would submit, a maldistribution of reporters in space and time. I was particularly impressed during my travel abroad that despite the hordes of reporters we have in Washington only one American wire service reporter was regularly assigned to a country like Pakistan. His job was mainly to sell the press services rather than to report what was going on. We are maldistributed, are not properly covering the outlets of news, even within Washington itself. Too many hang around the White House, too few hang around some of the places where important news is in the making.

We have maldistribution in time, too. As Senator Robert Taft once said, "So many of you reporters are trying to tell what's going to happen that you can't do an adequate job of telling what has happened." There has been a great effort to push ahead of the crest of news. Too many reporters are engaged in the speculative business of what is going to happen and not telling what has happened. Despite our enormous growth in numbers, there are too many reporters engaged in what I would call the cosmetics of the body politic and not enough in the deeper internal functions of the body politic. There are too many polishers of news; too few diggers of news.

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We run the danger of superficial treatment. We've had about enough, for example, of Caroline Kennedy and what she's up to. We need to have some really deep probing into what the new administration is about, but probing that is reported in unsensational fashion so that it does not destroy what it is attempting to report.

There is a fourth category of dilemmas arising from tendencies toward witchcraft in the science of communication. We've come a long way from the time when man learned that by taking pictures and moving them at a certain rate of speed he could create the false illusion of movement in the human eye. We know a great deal more about how you go about creating images in men's minds. The reporter is constantly aware of the charlatans who are attempting to enter this field of creating images in the minds of men. The career of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy pointed to a new era of the publicity monger—the man who has a genius for dominating the headlines with very little substance and who plays upon the vulnerability of the press.

A fifth category of dilemmas arises out of old habits that have not been properly reviewed. We still have today too much dedication to the "scoop" as the highest achievement of journalism. Reporters will beat their brains out trying to get a piece of news that in the proper order of things would have come out anyway. The reporter who has covered the news breaks of the day is left, at the end of the day, with the problem of writing an overnight that will give a new angle to the news. In these overnights sensation often creeps in. The reporter is desperate for copy and knows that the consumptive needs of the press must be filled. The news of government is often given the same treatment as news of the axe murder or the rape case. Here again there is a proper cause for re-evaluation, and for sophistication in the business of handling news.

I do not suggest that there are cut and dried solutions to this problem of government and the press. At best, we who are in the press recognize that we are engaged in an uneasy and unending war with those in government. During his final day as Secretary of State,

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Mr. Acheson was paid a call by James Reston of the *New York Times*. Mr. Reston made a very blunt query to Mr. Acheson; he said, "Why was it that you and I were not able to get along together better?" Behind that query was, I think, the sad recognition that the main failing of Mr. Acheson, who had been a courageous and able Secretary of State, had been a publicity failing. There had been a gradual undermining of his policies because they were not properly explained to the public. Mr. Acheson replied, equally bluntly, that it would have been impossible to do what Mr. Reston suggested. He said, "My job as Secretary of State was to conceive of new policies, to nurse them along until they were strong enough to withstand the battering of the public arena. Your job as reporter was to try to learn about those policies as early as possible and to relate them as fully as possible to the public." I would suggest that there is a great deal of truth in the nature of the dilemma that these two men posed. There never will be a time when government and the press are not engaged in a battle.

But I do think that there are ways to remove some of the excesses from this battle. At least three have occurred to me. Many of the dangers posed by the exposure of Secretary Rusk's memorandum arose because there are not facilities for a responsible reporter to develop his story in a responsible way. If I were a president, I would certainly consider having at the White House level, a semi-official source to whom the responsible reporter could go when he did have a news leak. This source's job would not be to try to persuade the reporter to forget the whole thing—I don't think that prohibition would work for long—but to attempt to furnish the facts to round out the story. He would be able to eliminate the distortions and the sensationalism that occurred in this instance.

Secondly, it is time to reconsider a proposal which Secretary of Defense James Forrestal tentatively put forward when he was gravely concerned about the security breaches that were occurring. He wondered if it were possible to find men of senior stature, a Council of Elders, to whom there could be appeal when there were these kinds

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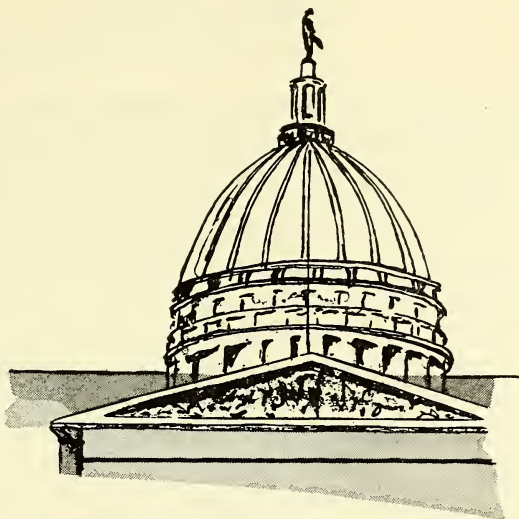
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of breaches—editors emeriti and others who would review the facts and issue conclusions about cases of irresponsibility either on the part of those in government or those in the press. Their job would be to monitor the government-press flow of information, not to serve as a body of censors. They would have no punitive powers; they would merely have the power to declare publicly who had done right and who had done wrong. This alone could have an enormous benefit for those reporters who would sincerely like to be responsible.

Thirdly, progress can be made in the abolition of the ancient code of the newspapermen; that "dog don't eat dog." There is too little self-and mutual criticism among those of us engaged in this profession. A reporter can do something grievously wrong and his fellow reporters do not mention it in their stories; in fact, they frequently write their stories in a way that the ordinary reader has a hard time understanding what caused the ruckus. This kind of criticism among the media—television criticism of newspaper journalism, newspaper criticism of television and radio journalism—could do a great deal of good.

All of these are merely formal ways of approaching the problem. The ultimate solution (if such an absolute word can be used) lies in the reporter himself. It depends on whether we who work in the profession can develop a high ethical sense of our calling. In a complex modern society those engaged in communications have a vital role to play. It is said that the dinosaur became obsolete principally because his system of communication broke down. His communications were too slow and too inaccurate; as a result, by the time his foot had sent word to the brain about what was going on, and the brain had sent word back, it was too late to do anything about it. This, it seems to me, should serve as a rather grim warning to all of us who have a role in the communications for the body politic of America.

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MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO SOCIETY

WE Americans pride ourselves on being the best informed nation in the world. Too often, I'm afraid, sometimes without our realizing it, we are uninformed or misinformed, and most of the time we are at best only half informed. We seem, on the whole, rather to like it this way. From long habit we have come to welcome, though maybe morbidly, disaster headlines, gossip columns, scandal stories, and broadcasts that are slick, thin, and unprofound. If, as the saying goes, a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, we are indeed in danger. The blame, I think, belongs to all of us, to the information business—for business it has become—to government, and to the public.

It is not enough to argue that we are as well or better informed than most peoples. We *are*, but the standard is not high enough. In

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our position of power and influence in a world perilously balanced between peace and war, we can't afford to be only partly intelligent and on a part time basis. Nowadays almost everything that happens anywhere on the planet affects you and me in some way.

It is easy enough to relate ourselves to the news of, say, an airplane crash. You and I or somebody we knew might have been aboard one of the two airliners which collided over New York City in December. Yet in the long run our lives are likely to be affected by explosive situations that *seem* far more remote—the intention of the Communist ruling clique in Peiping, the chaos in Laos, the tortured turmoil in Africa, the nuclear arms race. But *who* is there who has a clear grasp of these developments?

Nobody can reasonably demand that we equip ourselves with the wisdom of Solomon or stuff ourselves with facts like an IBM machine, but I think it is time we confessed that our love affair with knowledge is a casual one.

The most devastating analysis of the "media" I have ever seen was written a dozen years ago by a master of what I should like to call applied philosophy, and for my money it is as deeply penetrating today as it was when Harry A. Overstreet made it in his first important best seller, *The Mature Mind*. To illustrate how quickly we progressed—if that is the verb—through the decade of the Fifties, *television* was not among the four instruments of mass communications media—newspapers, radio, movies, and advertising—which Overstreet named as deeply influential on the shape of the American character in 1949. TV sets were largely limited to bars in those days and maybe we should long for the return of such happy times; but his critique fits neatly TV and its dichotomy of sinful sloppiness and promising potential.

All of these influences, which do as much to *stunt* as to *promote* our maturity, Overstreet reminds us, are "part of . . . a money-making culture . . . in which the prime value that attaches to most things produced is their *exchange value*—their *stability*. . . . Hence, the primary hunt conducted by each of these . . . licensed mind-makers has been

for a formula that would ensure most people's being attracted most of the time. Once the formula is set, there is more profit to be derived from people's remaining *as they are* than from their growing up to some new level of insight and discrimination."

Thus, newspapers have developed what Overstreet calls a "vested interest in catastrophe." The competitive clash between Communist and non-Communist ideologies is jerked out of the context of the world's vast sociological upheaval and becomes, simply, the Cold War, or the Big Game and our interest is riveted on who's ahead.

By the Overstreet standard, broadcasting has found *its* vested interest in mediocrity. Radio, television, and Hollywood all have a vested interest in escapism, therefore in emotion immaturity. Advertising, he finds, "*makes us do too much wanting and makes us want things for the wrong reasons.*" So advertising has developed its own peculiar vested interest: in human self-indulgence. There are hopeful signs here and there that the broadcasting industry is experiencing twinges of guilt over its huckstering, its practice of a kind of mass hypnosis to induce desires for opulent excess. In a bracing speech the other day the new president of the National Association of Broadcasters, the civilized ex-governor of Florida, Leroy Collins, warned the NAB that lip service to its public responsibility was not enough. Presumably he was referring, among other things, to saturating the air with stomach powder and soft drink commercials and then pompously squeezing in between them as an alleged public service a plug exhorting you and me in a voice of cloying unctuousness to take the whole family to church on Sunday—"you'll feel *better* for it." As if you could swallow religion too, like a liver pill. The lively young new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Newton Minow, a former law partner of Adlai Stevenson, indicates that he, too, is going to have much more than a passing, expenses-paid interest in how or whether broadcasting is contributing to the public good over and above its entertainment goodies designed to *Sell*. The current competition among the major networks on news coverage and programs in

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public affairs should increase the depth and raise the standard of public information and understanding.

Commercialism remains the key but there are other problems. Commercialism begat bigness and bigness has invaded everything, business, labor unions, government bureaucracy, and bombs. Simple, vital facts get lost in these vast dimension. We are living, for instance, in an age of staggering scientific discovery and expanding mechanical marvels but to most of us it is like trying to cut through a jungle with a pen knife to grasp their meaning. We can transport people and things and pictures from place to place faster than ever before in history and yet this electronic, supersonic magic can too easily blur the image of ideas and fuzz the thought process. As we step up the speed of this traffic via jet and—soon—space satellite TV channels, we increase in direct proportion the dangers of distortion via the smudge of superficiality, and the half-developed perspective.

Along with bigness and the complexities of new situations, there is the added obstacle of secrecy.

Secrecy knows no partisanship. It is a by-product of *any* bureaucracy. The Eisenhower administration stockpiled it in alarming abundance under a label of executive privilege. President Kennedy has promised that he will not abuse that privilege by using it to conceal mistakes. But he stoutly maintains that secrecy is necessary to protect delicate diplomatic negotiations while they are in progress. He has also cracked down on the high military brass with a warning that they must not speak out of turn in public. He argues that when a member of the joint chiefs of staff, for example, is making a speech, the public *and*—in some respects more importantly—foreign governments have a right to assume that he is reflecting administration thinking rather than grinding an axe for his own military service or indulging in personal brinkmanship—as has happened too often in the past. The White House is trying to extend this coordination of policy pronouncements to all key departments so the administration won't seem to be speaking with a towering Babel of voices. And finally the President is

demanding certain protection of his personal privacy—the latest indication of which was a written pledge extracted from members of the White House staff that they wouldn't write about their experiences with the Kennedys during or after their tour of duty.

All these developments have provoked some sharp and calculatedly anguished cries of "censorship" and "gag rule," especially from the Republican opposition *and* the gold braid at the Pentagon. My own hunch is that, as understandably human as the President's desires for privacy are, he is going to find it very difficult indeed to make much of a dent in the country's long-held assumption that the nation's first family belongs—though perhaps too possessively at times—to the public. He is already having trouble keeping everybody on the New Frontier talking out of the same side of his mouth—as witness the furor over the observations on U.S. African policy by Assistant Secretary of State Soapy Williams during a stopover in Kenya. As for Mr. Kennedy's insistence that on matters involving national security people in the government, in or out of uniform, reflect the administration line or keep still, I for one heartily agree with him. (This does not inhibit the honest differences of views in testimony before Congress.) On the point of governmental secrecy as a whole, I think the President should be given the benefit of the doubt *until* his promise of performance can be put more to the test. A dramatic example that he is being given the benefit of the doubt emerged after Mr. Kennedy at his first news conference as President had announced the electrifying fact that Moscow had released the two RB-47 fliers and that they were at that moment on their way home by plane. Nearly 24 hours before the chief executive's announcement on that memorable afternoon, the New York *Herald Tribune* had secured the story of the men's release in accurate detail. The White House confirmed it but begged the paper to withhold publication because a rupture in the agreement with the Kremlin for simultaneous release of the news might endanger the fliers or at the very least damage the incipient efforts to reestablish negotiating contact between Washington and Khrushchev. The *Herald Tribune*

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agreed. Tough a decision as it was to make, I suspect most reasonable newsmen would agree it was the right one.

Admittedly, the general public would not be so well informed as it is if it weren't for the world-wide news-gathering facilities of the wire services; however, this assembly line operation carries a curse with it too. It is the curse of superficiality, sensation, and mediocrity.

Major dispatches on tensions and contentions between East and West are cast in the mold of conflict such as one would expect from the portable of the home team sports writer covering the Rose Bowl game. Example: when Dean Rusk appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January in support of his confirmation as Secretary of State he said a *number* of meaningful *things* including the gentle but firm warning that we were going to have to face the reality of the growing power and threat of the Peiping government. But what were the bulletin leads from the committee room? "No recognition of Red China now, says Rusk."

In "shaping the mind of our time," everybody, shaper and shaper, has a moral responsibility. I believe *that* should involve the objective of approaching as near the truth as possible in terms as provocative and understandable as possible. As a conduit between the source and consumer of fact and knowledge I suppose the news media have the biggest responsibility of all. But both as manifestations and functions of what Harry Overstreet so rightly calls our money-making culture, radio, television, newspapers, magazines, advertising, and Hollywood all have a vested interest in the *merchandising* of truth and this does not always preserve it in proper perspective. Each news, advertising, and entertainment medium is an exponent of big business because each has *become* big business itself. Can big business be reasonably expected to purvey the news, and comment on the passing scene, in the depth dimensions we need? Perhaps the media require competition from some neutrally endowed, nonprofit newspaper or network like the BBC. Standards must be lived up to and in the case of broadcasting they must be created and then enforced by the lifting

or denial of federal licenses, but this gets into a treacherous area of control, and surely government intervention in the form of censorship is not the answer. It would only pose another problem.

Here, however, it must be conceded that a devastating case can be made on the premise that the area in which mass communications have fallen down most shamefully in their obligation has been in that respectable repository of the public conscience, that safe deposit box of decency, taste, and human values: the *broadcasting* industry. It has been accused, rightfully I'm afraid, of making *popularity* the main criterion of program content. Everything, or almost everything, has been geared to last night's rating. This, came the warnings after the TV quiz scandals broke nearly a year and a half ago, this is a dangerous disservice to the public because, as it was put by a leading clergyman, the Reverend Lawrence W. McMaster, Jr., of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., "this makes it possible for truth and right to become whatever powerful organs or influence peddlers say they are. Your prime responsibility," the minister admonished broadcasting's bigwigs, "is *not* to the sponsor, not to the networks, but to the people. The air is legally and rightfully theirs."

Commercialism's throttling control over program content has ranged from the fantastic to the ridiculous. In a classic piece of testimony before the Federal Communications Commission, the prize-winning television dramatist, Rod Serling, revealed that a gas company sponsoring a TV play on the Nuremberg trials demanded and *got* the deletion of the word "gas" in reference to Nazi death chambers. An insurance sponsor objected to the climax of a plot by suicide—it might give morbid ideas to dejected policyholders. "You can't '*ford*' a river if it's sponsored by *Chevy*," Serling said; "you can't offer somebody a 'match' if it's sponsored by Ronson lighters."

Despite these and other childish faults, broadcasting *is* becoming more and more a match for the printed word in the fertile but too-lightly tilled fields of information. And indubitably one of the reasons for this is a character with a current high interest rating named John

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Fitzgerald Kennedy. Credit CBS President Frank Stanton and others for pushing the so-called broadcast debates into actuality during the 1960 presidential campaign. But it was Candidate Kennedy himself who captured the public's imagination through them and who, in the judgment of his own campaign manager, brother Bobby, could not have won the election without them. *Now*, as President, Mr. Kennedy is continuing to exploit radio and television, particularly the latter, as his main channels for imparting information to the people. He is, already being accused of using the "live coverage" gambit of the White House press conference as a device by which he can stage-manage news events to his own advantage. There may be a potential danger here if he overdoes it, but in the interim the public is getting an exciting living room look at and maybe some sense of participation in government policy in the making. And the networks rate some genuine cheers, I suggest, for preempting Bugs Bunny and the Early Show to make way for these more sobering spectacles.

Broadcasting deserves another positive mark against the long list of negatives. At the White House Correspondents Dinner for the President a couple of Saturdays ago, I found myself sitting beside a worldly minded French businessman. He remarked that as he traveled about the country, in areas away from the immediate circulation reach of the *New York Times* or without such a responsible daily as, say, the *Milwaukee Journal*, he turned to radio and television in order to keep up with the news of the world. He simply couldn't find enough news in the local papers. There is growing evidence that broadcasting is beginning to do a better job of informing the public than many if not most American newspapers.

The public itself possesses enormous power of influence here which it does not wield enough in demanding more and better information from *all* media. The public outrage, mild as it was really, over the loaded quiz shows was sufficient to set broadcasting belatedly looking to, or rather looking *for*, its conscience. But in his nationally syndicated column, the distinguished editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*,

Ralph McGill, has remarked on a "failure of a large segment of the South's public leadership *and its media*" genuinely to inform on such an issue so passionately in need of dispassionate treatment as the racial problem. There *were* some timid attempts in New Orleans, notably by one television station, to deal responsibly *and* with some courage in the coverage of the token desegregation of two of the city's elementary schools. But these attempts didn't really add up to very much and the ugly defiance of violence still broods in the background in New Orleans. Is it sheer accident, I wonder, that continued *turbulence* threatens in a city whose information media largely failed to prepare the citizens for inevitable change, in contrast to the not unpainful but so far *far* more civilized transition at the University of Georgia in Athens—an area where organs like the *Atlanta Constitution* had long been dispensing cool-headed comment and reporting public sentiment on the need for keeping the schools open?

There are many sources and suppliers of news, of course, to which a discerning public can turn *and* in turning increase the pressure for more qualitative reports. Partly due to public demand, the news agencies themselves have greatly matured in their sense of balance and interpretive handling of the news since the long-gone days when I was a staff correspondent for one of them. Other more distinguished sources include the columnists, from Walter Lippmann on down, the special reports not only of the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* but of others such as the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. They may even include now and then a commentator and certainly they include those true repositories of crusading American journalism, the so-called "little magazines." Indeed these brave, struggling, butcher-paper journals of frank opinion and caustic comment including the distinguished monthly, *The Progressive*, in Wisconsin, are about the only living examples of old-fashioned American muckraking left. Their encouraging existence and recently increased growth reminds me of Samuel Johnson's counsel about knowledge. "Knowledge," the doctor told Boswell, "is of two

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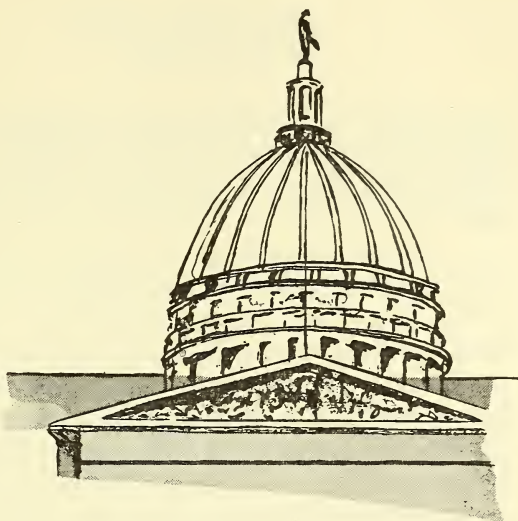
Mass Communications and Their Obligations to Society

kinds: we know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it."

The public has a right to know. But like all rights, this one has to be nourished and exercised or it will wither. James Madison, one of the architects of the Constitution, said that "a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power *knowledge* gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both."

This historic bit of wisdom may come as news to some but in these times, of all times, I suggest that it is news which relates to us, and underlines the obligations and responsibilities of the mass communication media, the information business, which are being so inadequately, halfheartedly fulfilled.

Arville Schaleben



THE NEWS AND YOU

"In spite of the large population of this planet, men and women remain the most inaccessible things on it."

—Frank Moore Colby

* * *

I WOULD like to spend a few opening minutes on the general problem posed for this conference. That problem is the familiar but poorly understood one of man communicating to man. Man to man. How proper to mention man twice and communication once. It affirms man's inevitable dominance, regardless of how spectacular the technical developments in man's communication to man, or perhaps more precisely, the mind's communication to minds. Mind to mind—I communicate the problem of communications better when I say it that way.

For as man evolves in the way that counts most, spiritually and mentally—and surely he is evolving—he becomes more and more the

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mind and in consequence less the physical. Simpler things were adequate in simpler days. Crudities of expression sufficiently penetrated another mind when the expression itself expressed a relatively crude idea.

But as refinements in thought and in feeling and broader knowledge and distant vistas of the mind become closer to more of us, we are compelled toward complexities in communication. I have a fear that our great minds have not turned sufficiently to improving this primary tool of society. Talk, thought; idea, words; knowledge, understanding—Roy Larsen of Time, Inc., noted that these are most valuable when they are as one. Let each stand alone or in association with fewer than all the others, and we handicap ourselves more than we can afford. This is particularly true in any society of free men, and especially true in the republic of the United States.

In the intellectual setting we so pleasantly occupy here today, I need not stress in any depth, I am sure, that communication is less a matter of means than of mental processes. It is effective for me to have this microphone to amplify my voice, but it is a boon to you only to the extent that my mental process has merit. To a large degree the merit of my mental process is determined by your comprehension.

Talk, listen; think, understand—these are entwined, and for good or bad. I am the speaker. You are the listener. I am the teacher. You are the student. Education, communication—are not they one and same? Is it not so that communication is education, and all education is the consequence of communication?

Man has a practical need for education; he has a psychic need for communication—to communicate and to be communicated with, to express and to comprehend. He may be ignorant without education; he is dreadfully lonely without communication. Lonely—how profoundly sad the very word. By comparison there is something almost happy in ignorance.

Mr. Larsen delineated these thoughts by saying: "Think of the unpleasant overtones in all the words that express or imply the nega-

tive of communication: ostracism, banishment, excommunicate, incommunicado. In order to communicate better and faster, on the other hand, man has applied some of his finest scientific thinking to develop the printing press, the telegraph, the telephone, radio, television—and now, satellite Echo.”

Still most thrilling to me, and still incomparably most important to all, is the printing press.

There are said to be a million new facts a year about our various new sciences. The printing press puts them down so they are not lost. The printing press puts them quickly in many minds in many places. The printing press preserves them so they may be useful in all the years and even all the centuries that lie ahead.

The facts, that’s what we are talking about. Give a fact immediacy and we call it news. The facts, the news—these are what we work with in my business and these are what we must find a way to convey more effectively.

This communication of facts, or news, from one mind to another calls for an involved exercise of judgment. It calls for interpretation and background and a sense of the meaning of the news. Since it arranges the transfer of ideas from one active mind to another active mind, it certainly is high art.

And this high art I deem an essential part of the greatest traditions of American journalism—this exercise of judgment, how exacting, how enormous, how overwhelming. What a weight to bear!

Fortunately, in the newspaper field we share its fearful force—fortunately not only for the individual journalist in his daily endeavors but for the public so dependent upon news in its role as citizen.

Let me try, as it applies to my assignment here today, to communicate to you an insight into the astonishing number of judgments involved in the transmission of the facts from the newsroom to you.

Some of you will recall a news story about the Marquette College

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of Journalism's Golden Jubilee would include the conference which closes here today.

There is a person in our news setup who has to wonder whether an event in the future might be worth attention at the time of its occurrence. Granting that, in this instance, that person might have some doubt as to the newsworthiness of a talk by the managing editor, we assume that the doubt was resolved in favor of reporting the editor's talk. We already have seen a judgment exercised.

Then, how much attention should *The Journal* pay to this event? Since any one of several editors might be making this decision, you see that the judgment of one might differ from the judgment of another relative to that same event. Whatever the thinking, it has some effect, negatively or affirmatively, on every possible reader.

One assignment editor might say to himself, "This is a kind of a lightweight deal, with a lightweight speaker, with a lightweight subject." So this editor, in mulling over how to cover all the day's possible assignments with the manpower available, decides that he can get by with a reporter of somewhat less experience.

Another editor, making the assignment, might have said to himself, "It's about time people begin to realize how important communications are. This is a conference set up by a responsible institution, so even if the managing editor is likely to deliver a dud, I'd better put a pretty good man on it, somebody who begins with a feeling toward the importance of a meeting of this kind."

You can understand, I am sure, that the way an assignment is made affects the way it is carried out.

In fact, you can realize, with a little imagination, that a multitude of judgments were involved in the single judgment as to which man should get the assignment.

Obviously my talk won't be reported word for word. The reporter will decide which points to put into his story. Judgment again. Indeed, he is going to have to decide whether to use just a little story

about me (which I suspect he will) or quite a bit. Again, judgment based on a multitude of judgments.

The reporter also is going to decide when to use direct quotes and when to paraphrase. And when he paraphrases (which is about the best I can hope for) he is going to have to select in his own mind the words he will use in the paraphrasing.

So the reporter turns his story in to the city editor. There is more local news than space for it; the city editor decides to do some trimming. He uses judgment (I hope) in applying his black pencil to judgments already made by the reporter in applying his good sense to judgments already made by the assignment editor as to what this piece of news copy might be worth.

And now it goes to the head of the copy desk. It is this man's responsibility to take a real hard look at this piece of copy.

It is his responsibility to boil it wherever he can, to clarify it wherever he can, to change the word the reporter used after changing the word I used.

But there is still another big editor in this picture. He is the news editor. The flow of copy from news of the world, news of the United States, news of Wisconsin, news of Milwaukee and, in this case, news of this conference goes through him for scheduling in the paper. He may pass up the story entirely, or he will decide what page it goes on and how big its headlines.

Judgments, judgments, judgments, based on all kinds of conditions, knowledge, circumstances, time.

What you get in your daily newspaper is the product of hundreds and hundreds of judgments exercised by many, many men. Your newspaper is the product of the circumstances, the environment, the emotions, the education, the intellect and to some very large extent the physical stamina of reporters and editors.

You must realize that what we newspapermen feed into your mind is subject to human judgment at every turn. Long ago Thomas

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Carlyle commented: "Great is journalism. Is not every able editor a ruler of the world, being a persuader of it?"

This poses to us a terrific responsibility, greater than the capacity of a human mind to exercise with infallibility. This requires the reader to understand that he is being subjected to a complex of judgments and that, therefore, he himself must exercise judgment on the content of a news story, according to his own education, intellect, and comprehension.

He need have no great misgivings about the news delivered to him, so long as the journalist's judgment rests on the basic principle that the basic test of news is its usefulness to the reader.

A good newspaper has a right to expect its readers to appreciate that its staff does the best job it can with good purpose and sincerity and regard for the truth, all the while knowing that it is subject to the error of judgment. The reader has the right to question in specific detail our judgment with his own judgment. Our responsibility is a terrifying one. Yours is too, when you stop to realize that your citizen judgments shape the national destiny.

There's much to ponder there. I can think of no more important combination for democracy's welfare than the well-developed citizen and his free access to sound news.

On the whole we are getting to be better citizens every year, we are getting better educated.

However stuttering our progress in education may seem, the United States is educating its masses higher and more broadly all the while.

This represents challenge to newspapers. They must come up to it or fade. For the person who passes high school or college won't permit his diploma to measure his education. He will continue to demand knowledge, and news is knowledge. News is knowledge with the vital element of immediacy. Our country, swayed as it is by opinions arising out of the homes and out of the churches and out of the offices

and factories, needs sound news fast. News is the liaison between the government and the citizenry and between society and the individual.

The entertainment part of the modern newspaper is fine, but it is only as red is to the apple. It may be attractive, but it does not change the fundamental requisite that the apple be good.

Newspapers must realize—as must broadcasters—that they have the duty as well as the ability to create audiences. It is a fallacy for newspapers, as it is for broadcasters, to contend that audiences, like air, simply exist. As Gilbert Seldes noted in scolding the broadcasters, “The public exists, and out of the public the broadcaster carves a segment and turns it into an audience by what he puts on the air.”

This is no less true of newspapers. The newspaper that thinks it is catering to a ready-made audience panting to be exploited by low taste is the newspaper that must change or wither.

The strongest newspapers today, and the ones with the most promise for tomorrow, are those which print the news on the basis of the quality of the news.

I link newspapers and broadcasters together in the following accusation: They accept praise for creating an audience for the arts or classical music. They reject the claim that they create the audience for debased stories or programs of violence. Then they say, as Seldes pointed out, that they did not create but merely gave the public what the public wanted.

What the public wants is vague, generalized. But an audience wants specific programs. If newspapers and broadcasters acknowledge and accept their responsibility for creating the audience, they will be respected, effective, and good citizens.

The offending segment of newspapers and broadcasters say in effect, “Give me your time and attention and I will give you what you want.” I say offending because no editor has the right to forgive his own low standards on the premise that he is editing down with the public.

I mentioned the public's responsibility to pass judgment on

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what we do. The public, it seems to me, is passing judgment now in a very effective way. It is giving the frothy, carelessly edited, shallow newspaper the back of its hand. I don't mean it is refusing to spend 7 cents for the paper. Daily circulation figures prove the contrary. What it is doing is refusing to spend *very much time* with the paper.

Some of you in this audience are familiar with the paper I have had the honor to represent all my working life. On Sundays we have a page of art and a page of music. We have a section composed strongly of background interpretive articles, particularly on world and national affairs.

They have a reasonably good readership. Those pages and columns did not start, I assure you, in response to public demand. We put them in the paper; we hope that they have carved an audience out of the public.

One of our editors, Harvey Schwandner, was asked to comment on sterling qualities common to better newspapers. This is what he said:

A great newspaper is a paper that has heart, soul, brain. It tells the truth as best it can about our world. By world we mean the reader's home town, his state, our nation and the rest of the world. To tell the truth, the paper must have integrity and dedication. There are no half measures in the moral field and the paper must tell what the truth means. In our complicated world we must explain and define. We must instruct and educate.

The great newspaper must be successful. I mean that it must make money. Money to pay good salaries to a strong staff. The paper must have adequate news space to do a strong, detailed job of reporting. The paper must have a devoted staff of news conscious photographers and thoughtful editorial writers to speak the paper's editorial voice strongly and clearly.

The great paper must have a character, an identity. It must do special reporting and feature jobs—that's enterprise. The paper must dig and investigate. The slightest hint of wrongdoing must bring down the relentless probing of the reporters.

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The great paper is independent. It bows to no one—the advertiser, the politician, the banker. It has a profound duty to only one group, its readers. And from them it seeks only respect, not love.

At *The Journal*, we aspire to all these virtues. And aspiring, we hope ever to reach nearer realization.

It is not enough for newspapers to say simply, "We accept society as we find it." It is true that we have a prime responsibility to mirror our society, but we also must lead toward higher citizen responsibilities, better tastes, better culture, better adult education. We must never forget that here in this America of ours we have vast morality and intelligence. The more solemnly thankful we are for this superb circumstance, the better we likely will be able to keep the circles widening, engulfing ever larger zones of the population.

We should remember this wise comment by Jacques Barzun in his book on American culture. Barzun said: "What we have undertaken, no other society has tried; we do not suppress half of mankind to refine part of the other half."

Father McNaspy, the former dean of the College of Music at Loyola university, said of that book:

Without indulging in naive chauvinism of time or space, we can be humbly grateful for unprecedented opportunities. Had we been born at another time, how many of us who criticize mass culture would enjoy sufficient culture to be able to criticize it? In any but our own favored society, could we pass judgment from the Olympian heights?

Athens, it is true, created a high culture and gave us much that is best; but at the time it was for the few and the few killed Socrates, the critic of culture. Florence could boast its proud moments and monuments; yet how many Medici enjoyed fully the golden fruits of a golden age? And how many contemporaries ever heard Beethoven's late quartets? 'Class culture' is fine for the classes, but most of us are the masses.

Now, how do we, the American newspaper, approach the masses. Too many of us walk in the gutter instead of toward the high horizon.

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American newspapers owe the masses information on certain serious subjects that are perhaps above the masses but are essential in their immediacy and general content to the leaders of the masses—the opinion leaders.

Permit me to cite an example from our newspaper. Some 15 to 20 years ago, wise people in the field of education clearly foresaw what the education needs would be after the 1950's. Plans for crises in education need years of development. We decided to try early to get across the story of what Milwaukee's education needs would be. We knew there was no possibility of this story having any wide appeal. We simply could not get any large proportion of the masses excited about educating children not yet born.

Nevertheless, we took one of our very good reporters and put him on a long project—as I recall it, some two months of fact finding—with the thought that he eventually would write a series on the great educational problems in the offing. He wrote some 20 stories running 1,500 to 2,000 words each. Surveys told us that not more than 5 or 10 per cent of our readers would even look at that series, but we knew that it would be read by teachers, school administrators, public officials, PTA leaders, sociologists. We knew that the material would be read by the people who would lead the public into the necessary program in the next decade. We simply could not write those articles entertainingly, attractively. We want to be lively always, but not at the expense of being accurate and important.

There remains quite a bit of thinking to be done by reporters and editors on making their general news coverage more attractive. Our news columns are up against some formidable competition for the citizens' time. The obvious one, of course, is television. But more important, I believe, is the change in manner of living—more family activities, more families on the go, go, go, more do-it-yourself projects.

Good newspapers need have no great fears about this challenge if they imaginatively adjust to it.

One writing device or reporting device that perhaps needs more

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skillful development is that of putting the reader into the story. The newspaper, it seems to me, has to get on somewhat more intimate terms with its readers. At *The Journal*, we have been trying to apply a technique, and possibly with some success. Again, I can explain it best with an example.

Eighteen months ago we began a series dealing with military defense. Somebody had said we're in good shape. Somebody had said we're in terrible shape. These generalizations were popping at the citizen from all directions. We decided to evaluate, if possible, the nation's defense posture. We were pretty sure we could make an important study. We were concerned about getting people to read it.

To get *you* to read it we put *you* in the story. There is too much thinking that, for example, the government is "they." Instead, of course, the government is *YOU*. There is too much thinking that war is for the soldier; too little realization that the front in the missile war is *your* home. We felt that somehow the citizen had to make a personal judgment on whether he himself would be in the next war.

So we called our series "The Military, the Missiles and You." In writing those continuing stories, Harry Pease related his findings in part to what those findings meant to the homes and the factories and the schools—and you.

I can use "The Military, The Missiles, and You" to make another point.

We hear so much about censorship—about having to report through government handouts—the "secrecy" classification stamped on by bureaucracy to keep the citizen from knowing. I agree that officials in all levels of government raise serious barriers against free access to public news. Yet these barriers, where they do exist, often can be made to yield to ordinary but aggressive reporting, and the barriers do not always exist where journalists say they do.

In spring of 1960 I took a trip to Fort Bliss in Texas where America trains ordinary young men to handle our intricate and remarkable missiles, and to White Sands, New Mexico, where we ex-

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periment with military missiles, and to Colorado Springs, which is the headquarters for the North American Air Defense.

I was astonished at what was openly told my party about our armament, our abilities, and our strategies. I could not understand why newspapers had not reported this information, some of it reassuring, much of it frightening, and all of it important in influencing my judgments as a citizen. Back at the office, it struck us that with a little get-up-and-go we could give our readers a chance to judge the nation's military posture.

Since I was naive in this area of information, it seemed best to have Mr. Pease, our science and military reporter, go over the same ground I had. Mr. Pease came home eager to challenge the enormous complexity that lay open before us. He returned to Colorado Springs. He put our plans before General Kuter. General Kuter is the man with his finger on the red button—the red button that will trigger our response if we are attacked by Russia. General Kuter offered Pease three of his top overall strategy men for three days of conversation. Pease opened those conversations by saying, “I don’t want *any* classified information. I want to hear only what I can write. But I want to tell this story my way, and fully, except for information of possible value to an enemy.”

Pease next started traveling. He has been on and under the ice at Thule, for you. He has been under the sea. He has been on Texas towers. He has been on naval maneuvers in the far north Atlantic. He has been in the sky. He has sat with our marvelous electronic military brains.

We have told this story and we are continuing this story not from government handouts, but first hand. We have gotten letters from scientists, military men, government officials, and others deep in the defense of America. They have said that never before had they understood America’s war plans and capacity. You see, each has his duty, within a narrow range. For our part, we did our broad duty as a newspaper, thoroughly and aggressively, instead of pouting that the in-

formation was too classified. We cut through a mystery that was more a state of mind than reality.

Let me tell you, it is heartening for a newspaper in Milwaukee to get letters from soldiers at Thule, saying they had always wondered what was really there on their ice, and why they were there. You know, I suppose, that Bell and other civilian laboratories are giving the U.S. our scientific military ability. How wonderful for a newspaper to hear from Bell Laboratories that "The Military, The Missiles, and You" is being distributed to their executives and scientists as valuable general accounts of what and why they are doing what they are doing.

Yes, if we journalists are to be the eyes and the ears of the citizen, we must get out of the rut habit. We must make the occasional meaningful, readable piece an almost standard routine. That means we are going to have to give up doing some of the things we did 20 years ago so we can do more of the things useful to the citizen of the sixties.

Another thing we need to do, and it is related very closely to the first, is to turn loose the fine, young minds now coming to us out of journalism schools. They need a sense of freedom to meet the requirements of the day. They are trained for tomorrow. As editors we should temper them by what we do *today*, but we must be careful not to restrain them with what we learned *yesterday*.

We have reporters today who can do interpretive writing—and do it objectively. More editors must realize, I believe, that objective writing and interpretive writing are compatible, provided there is competence. But there is, in the words of Herbert Brucker of the Hartford Courant, "a dead hand of tradition and cynicism on the desk and among the veterans that makes us cover news in the same old unimaginative way."

Somehow, as I have suggested, we are going to have to turn more from entertainment to more information. In this editors need to enlist the support of the publisher. In many, many American newspapers, there has been too much emphasis by ownership on the auditing and

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not enough on the editing. This is strange when you consider that in any thoughtful list of the best newspapers in the country—and this list is much like a list of the financially most successful newspapers—strong news quality is their common bond.

In the last 50 years, when we have seen the strong editor-owner replaced by the strong owner, a gap has developed the result of which, it seems to me, has caused the owner to be principally concerned with profits. This is understandable when you consider that making a newspaper pay these days is close to economic magic. Yet it is regrettable, for I believe that it accounts in part for the failure of newspapers to keep their news coverage adequate. I believe editors can keep their essential news independence from the business office and yet tell their broad problems to the publisher, explaining the need for more staff and news space. The editor belongs in the highest councils of any newspaper. In fact, in the very important constitutional sense, *he* represents the *reason* for the newspaper.

Most people own or control newspapers to be proud of them, for the prestige, for the force, for the power they are in the community. Strong editors live in the traditions and the purposes of a free press. They should be able to hold their own, at budget time, even in consideration of the owner's compulsion to keep the paper financially sound.

I am disturbed that a number of newspapers so superficially interpret the world and the rest of America to the home town. It is up to editors to lead the publisher and the public into the press' responsibilities toward this fretful, straining world.

You don't do this by one ten inch story on nationalism in Africa. You do it by reporting day after day how nationalism in Africa concerns freedom and survival in Hometown, U.S.A. You do it not by catering to the sidewalk delights of avenue gossips, but to the people who are concerned because they are knowledgeable and moral and good, in mind and heart.

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News, information, and more information—these are what newspapers exist for. Don't get me wrong. While news primarily is government or government related information, news is also what's new in the home, what's new downtown, what's new in the suburbs, what's new in religion, what's new in entertainment. All of these and hundreds more are news. The trick is to get the right balance in the news columns. And this, I submit, is the responsibility of the news staff basically from the viewpoint of how useful and necessary that day's news content is to the citizen.

There are, of course, financial limits in our ability to serve the citizenry.

Nobody, I think, can expect a newspaper to do more than it can afford. But it should do well with what it *can* afford. This includes making itself pleasing and attractive, and tasteful without being prudish. It means being fair without being fearful. It involves being forthright without being arrogant. It involves being friendly without being intimate. It involves being a good citizen instead of a bystander.

There is, it seems to me, a great danger that public opinion in this country is not being formed well because the people are not being well informed. Earlier, I talked about the multiple judgments exercised on the news content of a newspaper. These judgments are no better than the quality and information of the man making those judgments. It is important therefore that newspaper reporters and editors keep informing themselves over and above what they learn in their newsroom duties.

Reporters and editors should read professional journals, should study the newest changes in communication, should avail themselves of research into the impact of words, and should ever and always avail themselves of opportunities to brush with the big minds and the big doers in every strata of government, economics, and culture.

In recent months we have sent our wire editor to a high-level conference on the duties of the United States Secretary of State. We sent another to a conference with scientists on science news. We sent

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a copy editor to a conference on Communist China. We sent another editor simply to observe the United Nations.

Our editors and reporters are in frequent personal contact with the great university leaders in their specialty fields, not alone in search of stories, but more importantly in search of what the professors are thinking and what their thinking may mean some time in the future.

We send our labor reporter to labor conferences, our art editor to the famous galleries and to the studios of important artists. We send our church editor all over America to meet and talk with the leaders of all denominations. In the fall he will be going to the World Council of Churches meeting in New Delhi. On this trip, which will take him around the world, he will meet the religious of the world and try to get a glimmer of what those religions mean to America, and to the religions of America.

I know, of course, that not many papers have the staff or the resources to do these things. But I say also that not every newspaper has the sense or the desire to do them. I say also that every newspaper owner and editor should have that desire and should put that desire into effect, to the extent that he can do so.

There is not a newspaper in this country too distant to avail itself of the intellect available at colleges and at universities. No city big enough to support a daily newspaper is without important visitors. These visitors should be invited to the newspaper's office, as they are regularly at ours, for background conferences. We are too vital, we journalists, for any of us to pass off our duty to keep our minds modern, on the pretense that we do not have time or money. The pursuit of intellectual excellence does not fit the forty-hour week.

Our goal should be to educate and to communicate farther, better, and deeper than we ever have. Deep desire can overcome obstructions in our path.

You see, we as editors and you as readers face the crisis of meaning. We must give meaning to useful news and you with us must give useful news meaning and thought.

J. Edward Murray, the president of the Associated Press Managing Editors, asked:

"What is the crisis of meaning?"

This was his answer:

It is simply the crisis of redefining the real news for our times, of presenting it so the readers can understand it and of dramatizing it so the readers will know it is useful to them and will therefore read it.

I know this problem has confronted every generation of newsmen. Periodically, the concepts and patterns of news must be freshened, reshaped and refocused. The need to redefine the news is a crisis because the problem today is so difficult. The problem is so difficult because the news is so very complex and is growing more so.

In a free democracy there is a deadly threat in the tremendous lag between the availability of new information and its communication to the people for their own use.

It isn't a question of the status quo versus progress, Mr. Murray said. The status quo itself is mightily threatened by the new advances, if the new information is not quickly understood, communicated, digested, and put to use.

The crisis of meaning is also partly the crisis of too much news. There is no guarantee that we can meet this crisis. There is no guarantee that we can overcome the lag. Bear in mind that this lag exists even among the highest practitioners. It is said, for example, that there is about a fifteen year lag between the most modern medical information and the practicing doctor.

Yet, this lag need not unduly alarm anyone with faith in democracy. If we can keep the communications media free and open, the lag will be comfortably less in America than in Russia. If newspapers and the other mass communications media aggressively fight this lag, aggressively fulfill their role as the news pipeline between new information and the public, we can face any reckoning with confidence.

Yes, we need to do our newspaper job better and we need a better understanding by the public of the newspaper's role. The latter can be attained, I believe, if we but spend a little more time explaining to the public what that role is. The former can be attained, I believe, by supporting better research in mind to mind communication. As an industry we have hardly supported it at all so far. That research has been conducted almost exclusively by journalism schools and colleges. These schools themselves are entitled to more support, even from educators and education administrators, than they are getting.

It seems strange that education, which is communication, has not been more aware of communications as a practical art. I have found that many educators are poor communicators. They usually can tune in on each other. Often they seem lost in tuning in to the public or getting the public to tune in to them. I think one of the reasons we have had just adequate financial support for education is that the educator is such a poor communicator. When I was president of my community school board, we had no trouble with tax support whatsoever. We persuaded the public in plain talk what should be done, when it should be done, how it should be done, and why it should be done.

Well, back to the citizen and the news. What was the news last year? To us it was first the news of Milwaukee and Wisconsin. We can lay no claim to being a good newspaper without being a good newspaper in Milwaukee. We serve the citizen best by serving him faithfully and fearlessly at home. But serving him well at home means serving him more and more away from home. This is a hard and serious job, full of satisfactions and failings. Let me just quickly refresh you on the 10 biggest stories of 1960. See if you think they were easy to tell. Here's the Associated Press editors list:

1. U.S. election
2. U-2 and Powers' trial
3. Collapse of the summit conference
4. Independence for African nations

5. Two airlines collide
6. Castro turns toward Soviet
7. Khrushchev at the United Nations
8. Space and nuclear affairs
9. Eisenhower trip to Japan cancelled
10. Sit-ins: New Orleans

There isn't a simple story in the lot. Nor a crime story. And the only accident story, the plane collision, has fearsome overtones for fallible man in a missile age.

If you have an understanding of those stories, you can sense, I feel, the meaning Marquette journalism put into this golden anniversary theme: "The Citizen and the News."

If I may paraphrase Albert Camus, let me say:

The aim of news—the aim of life itself—can only be to increase the sum of freedom and responsibility to be found in every man and in the world. It cannot, under any circumstances, be to mislead the citizen or to reduce or suppress any freedom, even temporarily, save that which jeopardizes the nation's life.

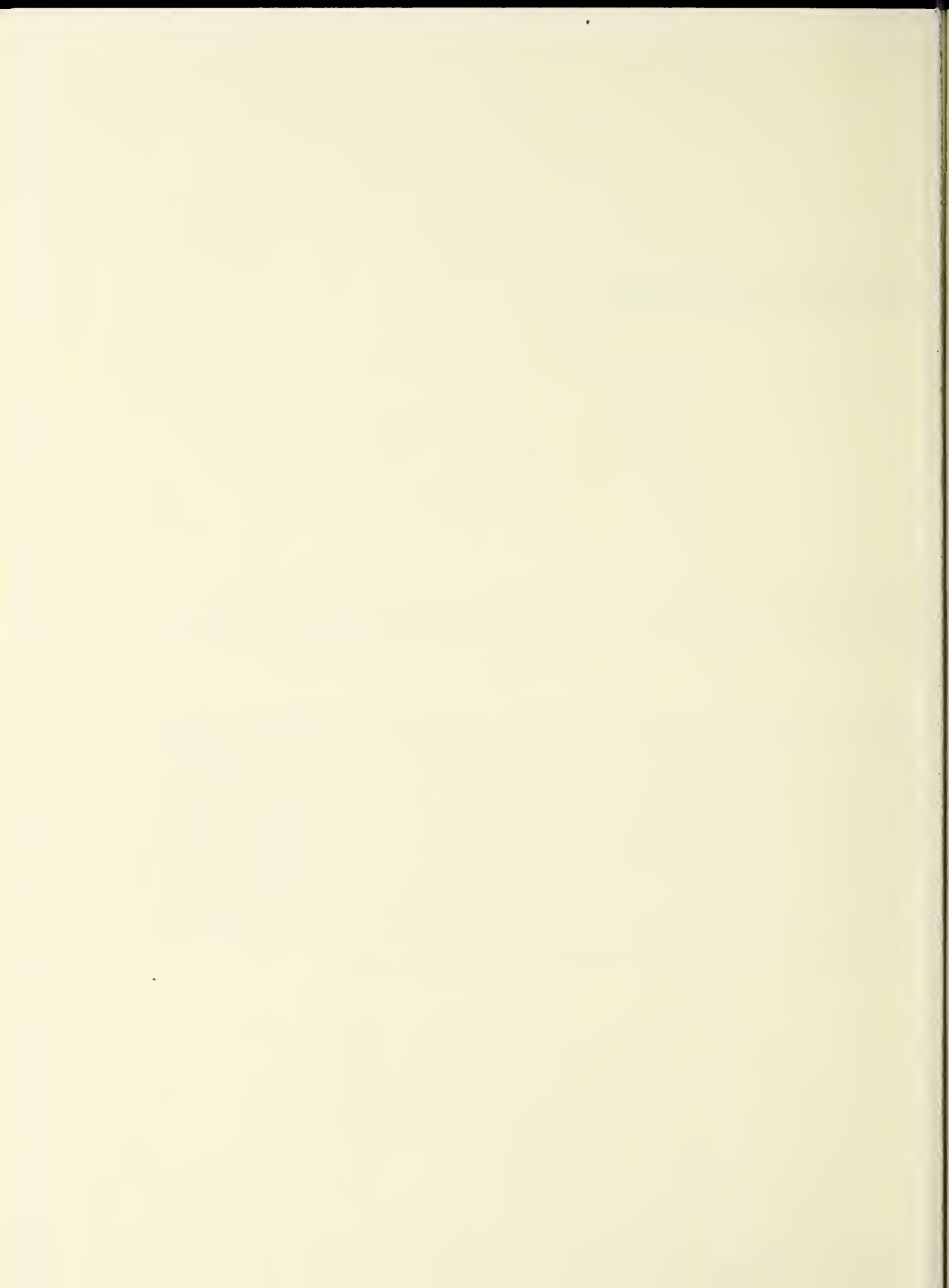
Newspapers in the individual judgment of individual readers, may make a success or failure of their mission in our society. But if we can tell ourselves that, finally, as a result of long effort, we have eased, through good communication, the various forms of bondage weighing upon men, then in a sense our day is justified and then, to some extent, we can truly say that we present the citizen with the news.



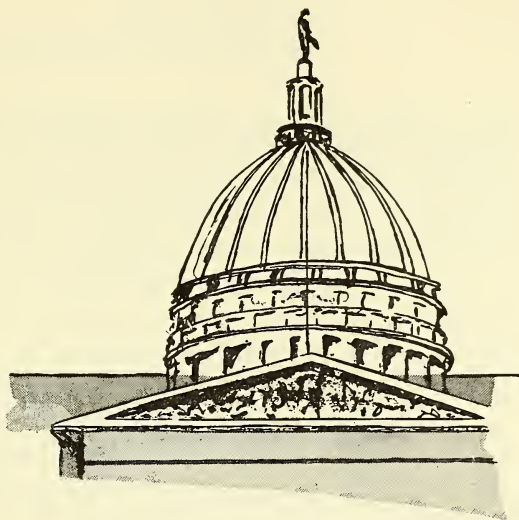
INTRODUCTION

Academic Convocation Anniversary Address

DR. RALPH D. CASEY, Professor and Director Emeritus, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, occupies an esteemed position among the ranks of journalism educators in America. Marquette University was therefore pleased to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon him at the Academic Convocation held in connection with the College of Journalism's fiftieth anniversary commemoration on April 15. Dr. Casey also delivered the anniversary address at that Convocation. His address, entitled "The Wicks Must Be Trimmed—The Light Kept Aflame," is reprinted here.



Ralph D. Casey



THE WICKS MUST BE TRIMMED— THE LIGHTS KEPT AFLAME

1.

THIS Golden Anniversary day gives opportunity to signalize the achievements of the Marquette University College of Journalism. We are here to recall the notable events in the College's growth and to celebrate the high standing it now enjoys. And we are here, too, to predict with confidence—with confidence based on the record—a continuing service by the College to society and to the profession of journalism.

I suspect that I have the privilege of appearing at this podium because, though I do not belong to the company of pioneers in journalism teaching, I have followed along the road they blazed for a good many years. The anniversary committee may have thought nobody could have been around that long without knowing something about the field!

Dr. Ralph D. Casey is Professor and Director Emeritus of the School of Journalism, University of Minnesota.

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The Wicks Must Be Trimmed—The Lights Kept Aflame

I have long been aware of the excellence of the Marquette College of Journalism. Let us not fail now to pay tribute to the University administrators who have given their support to journalism education through these fifty years, often, I'm sure, at considerable sacrifice and under difficult circumstances.

Marquette was one of the very few universities and colleges that opened doors to the pioneer departments of journalism. Its welcome to journalism, an unfledged applicant for academic favor a half century ago, was a noteworthy event in education.

The handful of state universities that sponsored journalism education in its pioneer days were advantaged by the Land-Grant College Act. This Act, passed by Congress and approved by President Lincoln in 1862, gave an impulse to education in new vocational fields within institutions of higher learning. It was the stimulus, in my opinion, that later promoted the entry of journalism into the programs at state-supported universities and colleges.

The Land-Grant College Act typified the democratic spirit of the times—a spirit that actuated Marquette in approving its first journalism courses.

It is to the great credit of Marquette University that it established such courses fifty years ago. The recognition that the formal education of future journalists is a significant role of a university was a mark of Marquette's imaginative educational policy.

Marquette journalism students are fortunate in being able to draw upon a nationally accredited Liberal Arts College for a considerable portion of their course work. They also enjoy the advantages that can be provided only by a journalism teaching unit that is truly professional in its orientation—that emphasizes social goals and moral and professional values as an integral part of its program. Evidence of the College's standing, of course, is the fact that it long ago received accreditation at the hands of the American Council on Education for Journalism—the seal of merit in journalism education.

And, finally, Marquette's students learn and work in an atmosphere distinguished by the quality performance of the communications media. A college or school of journalism thrives best in centers where the media stand higher in public esteem. Nowhere in the country has a newspaper earned a higher reputation for integrity and service to its readers than your own *Milwaukee Journal*.

2.

I've had the pleasure of association with Dean Jeremiah L. O'Sullivan, as friend and colleague in journalism education, for the past quarter century. I have enjoyed my friendship with a number of his capable college faculty as well.

Dean O'Sullivan, we teachers know, is a wise leader . . . a modest and humane man. I'm sure our mutual friends in the communications media know it too. The steadiness of his hand at the tiller, his perceptive sense of educational values, his quiet insistence that neither the journalism educators nor the journalism practitioners can with good conscience shirk their obligation for responsible performance—these are the qualities of mind, heart, and character that endear him to us.

Jerry has not always, I suspect, directed his College from a bed of roses. Every kind of university administrator has his share of troubled moments. In fact, it may not be overstating it to say that Jerry plunged from the calm of active journalism into the seething maelstrom of a college of journalism. No forty-hour week in academic halls! Not much leisure for visits to the Press Club! To this job a man must give devotion, intelligence, imagination, zeal. And Jerry has not stinted.

During his deanship, the media—and all of us—have benefited through the aid and encouragement he gave in upgrading professional performance, and through his stout belief in journalistic integrity. He led in unifying the scholarly offerings of the College with the necessary training in communication skills and techniques, and we must

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also note his leadership in establishing the graduate program in the College.

We hail Dean Jerry and his associates!

And we must not fail to cite the contribution of the "first wave" pioneers in journalism education at Marquette University: Father John Edwin Copus, S.J. and Father John Danihy, S.J.

Credit Father Copus with teaching the first reporting in the pioneer curriculum; Father Danihy with amplifying the program and providing a broadened foundation of offerings.

I have a special fondness for the pioneers who believed that training in the gathering, writing, and editing of news is a legitimate and necessary discipline. Such training lies at the core of a program. The diffusion of accurate, balanced, and intelligible information is vital to a community, no matter how narrow or wide its boundaries; and it is appropriate that we give full recognition to the pioneers who knew of its importance at the very base of their instructional efforts.

The pioneers, here and elsewhere, sometimes followed too submissively the orthodox patterns of the day. Had they done otherwise, no doubt they would have caught the devil from editors schooled in traditional techniques. After all, the pioneer curriculum was satisfactory in its time. In the undergraduate days of some of you in this audience, the newspapers and magazines were the only media of any consequence. The United States was a pretty contented and comparatively isolated country. The community lived on print alone. The technological communications revolution had only begun its march.

3.

News is no longer monopolized by the newspaper, the news service, and the syndicate, which had no rivals when Father Copus taught. But in our day the news magazines have thrust themselves boldly into the picture. Traditional periodicals, once heavily geared to agreeable fiction and demure miscellany, with minor emphasis on topical items, have taken increasingly to publishing timely articles. The trade-class press flexes its muscles, and the broadcasting media

have come along to complicate the lives of newsmen, editors, and circulation managers of daily newspapers, bringing about changes in some of the news policies of the daily journals.

Take stock, too, of the legion of public relations officers who have emerged from the cocoon of publicity and who today have the power to serve in the transmission of news.

All this means that since journalism schools are deeply occupied with information content, they are now required to study the news as it flows into all the channels, new as well as old.

As I have said, the pioneer journalism teachers were bound of necessity to the news-editorial folkways of their day. On a city editor's assignment sheet news sources were limited, at least as we see them in 1961. There are not only many more sources today, but in our society the staple items from the traditional wellsprings of information require reporting in greater depth and reorientation in emphasis than I fear Father Copus may have envisioned.

Today a newspaper can no longer hold its primacy if it regards itself as an entertainment vehicle, or follows a policy of overplaying sex, sin, and sensation. It can't match some of its competitors in that type of content. Neither can it serve today's needs by giving trifling attention to science, education, religion, labor, medicine, social welfare, agriculture, and the newer dimensions of industry, commerce, and business.

It cannot avoid newsworthy interpretations of civil liberties, juvenile delinquency, mental health, and other public problems. Nor can any newspaper neglect the highly significant areas of governmental and foreign news.

Whether the newsman is a so-called "generalist"—that is, a professional newsgatherer who, it is assumed, is qualified to cover any emerging news situation—or whether he is a "reporter-specialist" with a particular subject matter field, he must more than ever before possess a liberal education, expert training in skills, and a high sense of obligation to society and his craft.

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The Wicks Must Be Trimmed—The Lights Kept Aflame

Frank Ahlgren, editor of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, in addressing the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association recently, wrote a potent prescription aimed at beefing up today's coverage of news. He said:

Any editor knows it's different around the city room these days. The old-fashioned journeyman—the sometimes brilliant, glib and often undependable romantic—is fading fast. Maybe we'll miss him. But we know full well that to resist change is to die. . . . Editors need writers who know their craft. Our reporters must also know something about electronics, chemistry, economics, sociology, history, politics, government, and the law.

They must be able to interpret tax structures. They must explain clearly the why and how of city planning. They must also write of fine arts, music, experimental drama, and changing folkways. They must have eyes which are on the future, and minds that can delve into the past.

What Mr. Ahlgren proposes can appear on the news agenda of daily publications only if the controllers of newspapers are willing to accept the Memphis editorial doctor's prescribed dosage as a means of revitalizing the health of the press. Admittedly, even the best "generalist" newsman could hardly hope to cover the scope of the news that Ahlgren sketched out in his challenge to his publisher brethren in the South. The task is beyond the capacity of the *average* news staff. But advances can be made.

Publishers who are not facing the wolf at the doors, who have an interest in public affairs and matters of comparable importance, and who are willing to take the rubber band off their wallets, can do a service by adding more and better-trained recruits to their newspapers. If a publisher wants to recruit good people, he can find them. They can be found in schools and colleges of journalism. They can be drawn into the service of the press. Once he finds them, the newspaper proprietor must offer recruits real opportunity as well as adequate salary levels. These rewards must come if the young journalist

is to regard newspaper work as a permanent occupation. Publishers, in fact, have little alternative if they hope to compete successfully for trained and competent personnel against the attractions of other professionsal areas.

4.

Journalism instructors are well aware of changing news patterns in our volatile age. They are aware also that the news can't be slavishly written in the form and style of a quarter of a century ago. They are no more than a step behind the imaginative editors who since World War II have departed from nineteenth century conventions of the craft, and now set the pace for fellow journalists and teachers alike.

No matter how information is packaged—hard news, interpretive news, background pieces—the processing of the news requires something better than routine practice in challenging the attention of peer groups and the understanding of the various levels of the public.

Herbert Brucker, editor of the *Hartford Courant*, makes this point better than I can. He had this to say to Oregon publishers in Eugene in February, 1961.

It is one thing to report this tumultuous, exciting world in a routine, dull, superficial, and traditionally cynical way, and how it is something utterly different if you do it with freshness and enthusiasm and drive and purpose.

Ours is a business like no other, because it deals with information. It is our job to create the climate of fact and understanding without which our constitutional government would be as dead as each of us would be, had we no air to breathe.

We have only one thing to sell—news and related editorial matter. If that doesn't sell, then we have nothing else to offer. There can be no circulation revenue, no advertising revenue. There is no need for any mechanical department, promotion department, or any of the rest of our complex business.

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The oft-quoted remark of C. P. Scott of the *Guardian* still holds true. The newspaper's primary office is the gathering of news. But it also has the vital function of commenting on the news; I do not mean to slight the importance of levelheaded, informed, and honest expression on the editorial page, nor other necessary functions of such a medium as the newspaper.

I hope I haven't failed to make clear my belief that in education for journalism, a major obligation of the college or school is to emphasize, analyze, and evaluate news performance in all the aspects of the local, domestic, and international flow of the news. I hope I haven't failed to emphasize the importance of rigorous training in the necessary skills of gathering, writing, and editing the news.

The basic problem in communications in this hour is to provide the public with a greater volume of significant and intelligible information—information in greater depth and perspective, coupled with a more positive, informed, and intelligent editorial leadership.

5.

I have said that your College of Journalism gives a student a knowledge unique to his profession. By applying the subject matter of the social sciences, humanities, and other relevant disciplines to communication problems, the schools have greatly fortified the scholarly nature of the curriculum.

Examine the course of study and requirements of the Marquette College of Journalism, or run through the catalogue of an accredited school of equal standing. Then I ask you to think about these questions, confident that I shall receive answers favorable to the schools.

Can you doubt the importance in journalism education of offerings either elective or required, that give scholarly emphasis to the history of the press; the mass communications agencies as they relate to public opinion; ethical practice in journalism; the relations of press and government; the rights and privileges of the press; theories of free inquiry and a free press; the economics of the media; editorial persuasion, and so on?

Can you quarrel with the deepening interest of the journalism schools in international communication, particularly in the light of the tensions that exist in the world today?

Can you withhold support from insightful studies of the role of communications in a democratic milieu and the contrasts of our instrumentalities with the enchained press in closed societies?

Do you not agree that journalists must be acquainted with the barriers enforced by public and private agencies through censorship, secrecy, and other restrictions on newspapers, publications, and broadcasting?

Is there any reason why journalism schools should forego a stress on the traditional liberties of which the press is a part?

Can any critic advance logical doubts that journalism schools should undertake research by qualified teachers, or establish research centers within the schools?

Since my own emphasis as a teacher fell within the orbit of public affairs, I am particularly interested in the attention the Marquette College of Journalism gives to *Government and the Newspaper* and *The Press in a Political Society*, courses emphasizing "the social principles that order the work of the newspress and of the practices of the press, radio, and television today in relation to these principles."

So many crucial decisions in our society are of a political nature that an understanding by the journalist of political dynamics is paramount. The role of the press as an umpire of contending forces in a democracy and its obligation to serve as a "watchdog" over governmental action, poses problems, theoretical and pragmatic, for continuing study by faculty and students within the academic discipline of journalism.

Marquette, along with other leading schools, is in a strong position to maintain and extend this kind of emphasis—an emphasis not aloof from the social sciences and humanities, but allied with them by intramural contacts and interlocking relationship.

6.

The demand for a more vigorous sense of responsibility on the part of the mass media is beginning to bring response in strongholds of the press. The voices most frequently heard in this connection come from a relatively small number of editors and national capital correspondents. Progressive publishers, however, are asking themselves: What does the public think of the performance of my newspaper?

A few newspapers took steps a decade ago to underwrite disinterested surveys to find out what their readers thought of their journals. Only recently, an "image" study of a controlled sample of papers holding membership in the Inland Daily Press Association was completed by a corps of journalism school research men. The Scripps-Howard group of newspapers is systematically studying the content which these newspapers provide for their readers and the images which readers have of the papers.

There are other studies in the mill. Some of them, which are, in effect, tests of the expectations of newspaper readers, reveal findings which indicate whether a given medium is perceived as "informative" or "entertaining," "responsible" or "irresponsible."

But such studies, based on interview responses, may require other techniques to tell us what we want to know about the criteria determining the selection of content for a given medium. Content inventories are common enough these days. They impose no difficulty on a researcher trained in sampling and statistical coding techniques.

Douglass Cater remarked on this campus last month, when he discussed the reporter's effort to report national affairs, that the real power of the press lies in the selective process. This, he said, is "the creative function of the press." Therein lies responsibility on the reportorial firing line. But there are degrees of responsibility throughout the entire personnel of a newspaper, magazine, or broadcast agency; Mr. Cater, I'm sure, would not suggest otherwise. Responsibility in this sense is not divisible. Responsibility is an attitude of mind.

Clifton Daniels of the New York *Times* spoke on the responsibilities of the reporter and the editor at a recent conference at the University of North Carolina School of Journalism. He said that "responsibility" means this:

To serve the public—not the profession of journalism, not a particular newspaper, not a political party, not the government, but the public.

And he added:

To put information in the hands of people who must be their own rulers. To make that the supreme obligation of their lives. To bring intelligence, skill, and devotion to the task, and to perform it with some grace and wit.

What are the obligations of schools of journalism in underlining and emphasizing the ideal of media performance we call "responsibility"?

Dr. Wilbur Schramm in his recent volume, *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, argues that the media have the chief obligation in bringing about "good performance." And, he adds, the public is also a prime mover in the communications dynamic.

Do the colleges and schools of journalism have a role to play in creating a sense of responsibility on the part of the media? Have they accepted this obligation? I answer a strong "yes."

Indeed, their emphasis on responsibility has been the center of instruction for so many years that I honestly believe they have been a good deal more conscious of it than the run of newspapers and broadcasting stations; this consciousness has extended to the point, I think, of discouraging many graduates who, upon entering the active practice of the profession, with youthful purpose and idealism, came up against the disillusioning inadequacies of some of the media on which they served.

Dean O'Sullivan, while in the office of President of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism in 1941, ad-

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It has been a vigilant press, alert in the protection of its constitutional and institutional liberties.

In an historical sense, our journalism has enjoyed a more favorable climate in which to work, and a longer uninterrupted period of freedom in which to accept responsibility than most other nations, even including the Western democracies with their own heritage of freedom.

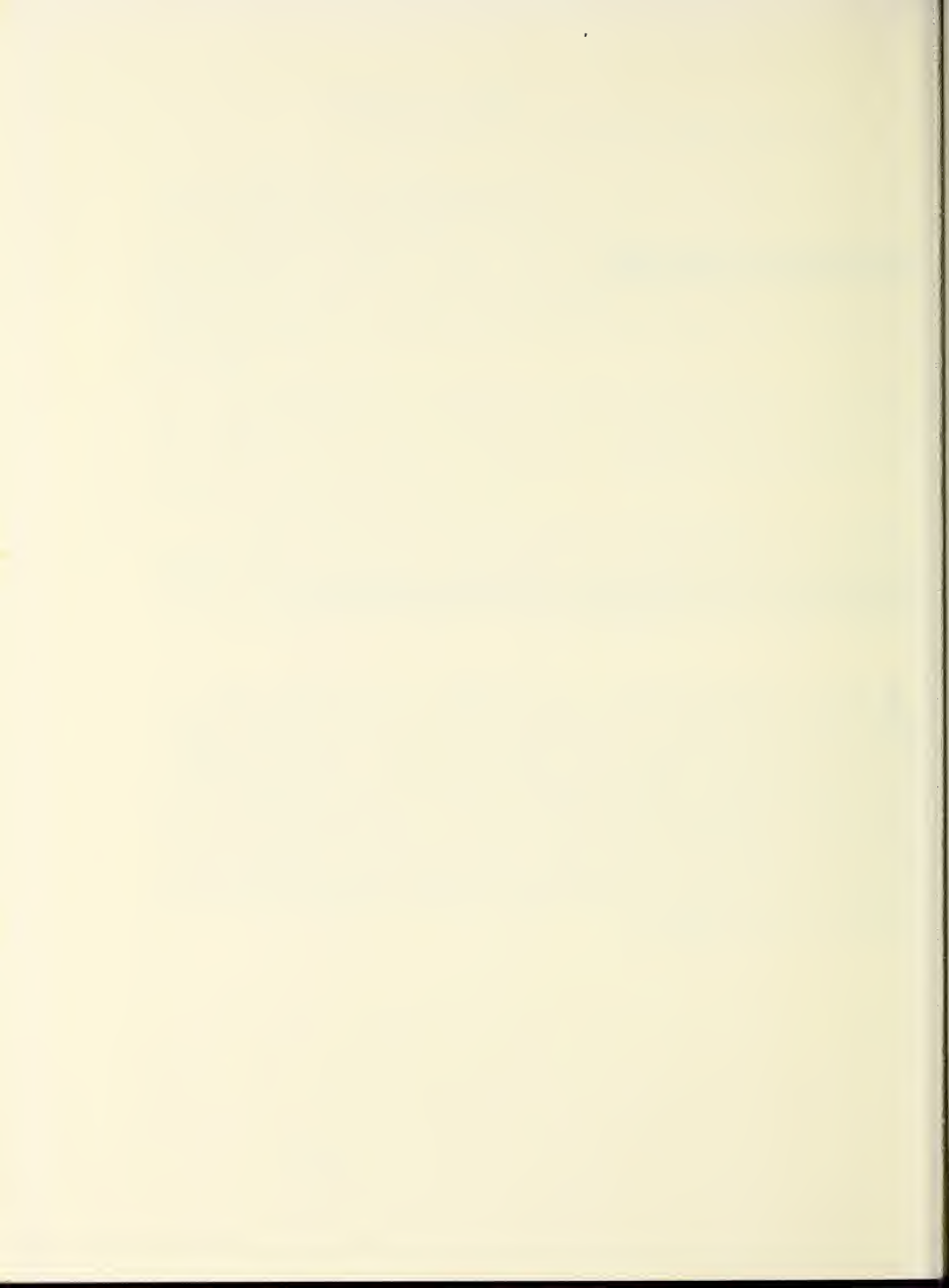
But the structure we want to achieve—the structure of freedom with responsibility, of accepting and discharging obligations we enjoy, the liberty to meet them in our culture—does not automatically erect itself. We have to work at it. We have to continue to nurture the concept and to implement the process.

And I believe the kind of College of Journalism we are recognizing here today is one of the chief hopes that we will keep the freedom—with—responsibility principle alight . . . not alone in our journalism but indeed, and because of our journalism, in our whole society.

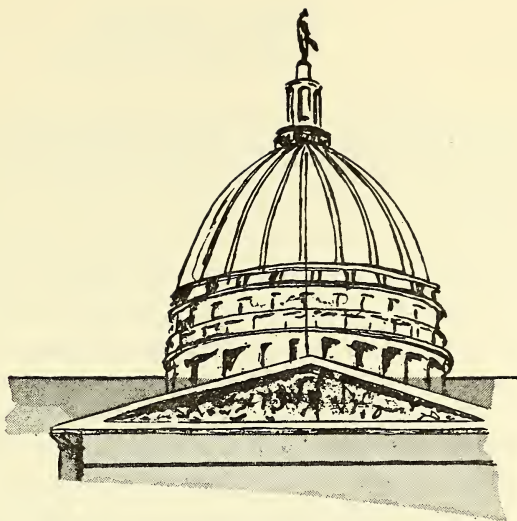
INTRODUCTION

Institute On Foreign Correspondence

AMONG THE graduates of the College of Journalism who expressed the hope of returning for the anniversary reunion April 15 and were free to attend four had extraordinary extensive experience producing and editing foreign correspondence. Because of the importance of foreign affairs both in the lives of all of us and in the work of the press, these four were asked to speak on that topic and discuss its questions at the Institute on Foreign Correspondence, conducted on the campus the day before the civic dinner and the anniversary reunion, April 14.



Wallace Carroll



GOOD-BY TO WILLIE STEVENS

IN THE period between the two World Wars, if you had gone to the cities in Europe where great news events were happening, and if you had looked into the press rooms at the diplomatic conferences or into the hotel rooms where the American correspondents were writing their stories at night, you might have seen one of the eminent reporters of the time sitting before his typewriter and staring moodily at a picture pasted to the name plate.

The subject of the picture was familiar to newspaper readers of the day. It was Willie Stevens, the so-called "idiot boy" of the Hall-Mills murder case.

If anyone asked the reporter—as strangers often did—why he kept this melancholy image on his typewriter, he always replied, with sadness in his eyes and a catch in his voice:

"I have to keep reminding myself. That . . . is my average reader."

Wallace Carroll is Washington News Editor for the New York *Times*. He is a 1928 graduate of the Marquette University College of Journalism.

WALLACE CARROLL
Good-By to Willie Stevens

Three or four thousand miles away, on this side of the Atlantic, the editors who set the standards for the reporter took his work and that of many others each night and trimmed it and diluted it to make doubly sure that nothing in the morning paper would strain the brain power of a Willie Stevens. And who can say that they were wrong? For each morning a million presumptive idiots bought the paper.

If this was what the reporters and editors thought of their readers, what must the readers have thought of the editors and reporters? Contempt does not win respect; contempt is more likely to win contempt. How often have you and I heard people express scornful opinions of newspapers? How often have we heard people say, "Oh, that's only newspaper talk"? I am sure that among the million or more readers of that newspaper there must have been many who resented the pap they were being fed and returned the contempt in full measure.

Today the world of Willie Stevens is far behind us. Whatever the newspaper reading public of that time may have been, it is no longer so today. Our readers are now better schooled than those of earlier generations. They are more widely travelled. Many of them have developed new tastes and interests from the proliferation of good and cheap books, the serious treatment of world affairs, science and the arts in many magazines, and the occasional broadcasts of high quality on radio and television. And some of them are acutely aware of the responsibilities they bear as free citizens of a nation that has had leadership thrust upon it.

It is to these readers of the new tastes and interests and the new sense of responsibilities that we in the newspaper business must give more serious attention.

So tonight I propose to discuss with you the role of the reporter and the editor in their relationship and responsibilities to this new kind of reader. And then I shall say a few words about the reader and his responsibilities to the editor and reporter.

If there turns out to be a "message" in anything I say, it will

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simply be this: a plea for a sort of unwritten treaty of mutual respect to be freely entered into by the reporter, the editor, and the reader.

THE REPORTER

First, let's talk about the reporter.

One of the best reporters I ever knew, the late John T. Whitaker, used to say that there is only one difference between a good reporter and a bad stenographer: a reporter makes the point of the story.

The point of the story! Like so many other reporters, I learned how to make it the hard way.

In 1935, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, I was the correspondent of the United Press at the League of Nations in Geneva. Under the leadership of an attractive young British politician, Captain Anthony Eden, the League reacted quickly by getting an agreement among its members to prohibit the supply of arms and credits to Italy. This, however, was only a gesture. The thing that would really hurt the Italians, it was generally agreed, was an oil embargo.

In Britain, the most influential people in the Conservative cabinet, of which Eden was a member, did not want to hurt Italy. The life-line of the Empire ran through the Mediterranean, and they did not want to risk their Empire communications by turning Italy into an enemy. On the other hand, the great majority of the British public was cheering Eden on and demanding that the aggressor be stopped. Thus the big question at Geneva was: what will Britain do about the oil embargo?

One day the committee in charge of sanctions held a secret meeting. Eden made a resounding speech on the need to curb Italy and called for the appointment of a committee to study the feasibility of an oil embargo.

I got the news well ahead of my competitors and pounded out my story. The impression the story must have conveyed was that Eden had again led the League in a bold move forward and that Italy in time would probably have its oil cut off.

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That night I exchanged the impressions of the day, as I often did, with Prentiss Gilbert, the American observer at the League and one of the ablest of our foreign service officers. When I told him how I had treated the Eden story, he looked at me in pained surprise.

"My dear bewildered friend," he said, "haven't you learned by this time that when the wheels on top are turning like this"—and he revolved his arm in a clockwise direction—"the wheels down below are turning the other way?"

And he went on:

"Eden wasn't sounding the charge. He was calling for a retreat. When you heard that word, 'committee,' you should have known that the British cabinet had forbidden him to press for oil sanctions. All he was doing was covering his retreat so his supporters at home wouldn't realize what a retreat it was."

And so it turned out. I had missed the point of the story. A poor stenographer could have done as well.

Five or six years later I was covering another big story in London. It was the period of the "phony war." The British and French armies had faced the Germans on the Western front for more than six months without either side trying to hurt the other. On the frontier between Finland and the Soviet Union, however, a very real war was going on, with the Red Army trying to crush the heroic Finns. In Britain, some Conservatives, and some Laborites as well, felt that Britain was involved in the wrong war. They wanted to help the Finns for a variety of reasons—sympathy for the little fellow, historic dislike of the Russians, a suspicion that the Soviets were secretly helping the Germans, a hope that the Germans might turn around and join in a unified effort against the "real enemy" in the Soviet Union.

On the afternoon of March 12, 1940, the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, met this situation with an unexpected statement in the House of Commons. Britain and France, he announced, were ready to send help to Finland if the Finns would ask for it.

Something clicked in the back of my mind and I recollected the

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lesson of the revolving wheels. My story wrote itself. Chamberlain's announcement meant in fact that Britain and France had decided they would *not* aid the Finns. If, indeed, they wished to send aid, they would have sent it secretly, not with a prior announcement that practically invited the Germans and Russians to intercept any troopships that might be sent. Chamberlain was trying perhaps to strengthen the Finns' hand a bit in their peace negotiations with the Soviets, and, like a skillful politician, he was protecting his rear from political critics.

That time I got the point of the story.

But now, in retrospect, it seems to me that making the point of the story was relatively easy in those days. Look at the complexities of covering a story for the new reader of today.

A correspondent in Washington working the foreign affairs beat must have a good acquaintance with the State Department, that old lady of Foggy Bottom, and the Foreign Service. He must understand the role of the President in foreign policy and his relationship with the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Defense Department. He must be aware of the Senate's prerogatives in foreign affairs and particularly of the rights and duties of the Foreign Relations Committee. He must know something about the United Nations and how we try to promote our foreign policies through that international body. He must understand our treaty relationships—with NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the Organization of American States. He must know enough about economics to be able to describe the activities of the foreign aid agencies, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Export-Import Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Food for Peace Agency. He must know something about our weapons systems, the theories of defense on which our national policies are based, and the kind of defense arrangements we have in different parts of the world. He must know enough about nuclear weapons to be able to follow the difficult negotiations for a prohibition of nuclear testing. And he must have an incredible amount of background on situations in South East Asia, Communist China,

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the Arab states, Israel, Western Europe, the new nations of Africa, and Latin America.

If all this seems too awesome to him and he wants to move over onto one of the domestic beats, he will find things no easier. A reporter covering Capitol Hill today must understand the workings of the Senate and the House and their congeries of committees. He must be ready to handle stories on taxation, labor legislation, social security, health insurance for the aged, minimum wage proposals, federal aid to schools (and what the courts have said through the years about such aid), civil rights proposals, and many other subjects. He must know enough economics to be able to cover a debate on the recession or testimony by the leading economic wizards before the Joint Economic Committee. And like the fellow on the foreign beat, he must know something about atomic energy and the principles on which our national defense arrangements rest.

The miracle of it is that the American newspapers have developed a respectable number of reporters who can meet all these tests and bring to our new type of readers what they want and need to know.

I wish you could be with me some afternoon in the Times bureau when the reporters come in off their beats.

One Monday afternoon at the beginning of its term, the Supreme Court announced the actions it proposed to take in some three hundred cases. There wasn't a simple case in the lot. The reporter on the beat took the list and selected the half-dozen cases that were worth developing as stories, and he wrote those stories. Then he took fifty additional cases, more or less, that were of special interest, broke them into categories, and explained each case briefly and clearly. The result in the paper the next morning astonished the justices themselves.

On another day the Court unloaded without warning half a dozen big cases, including its decision in the government's suit to compel the Dupont Company to divest itself of its stock in General Motors. This suit was so complex that the preparation and printing

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of the transcript cost more than a quarter of a million dollars. Yet a reporter was able to take the justice's opinions, make a few phone calls, and turn out a story that was hailed as a model of accuracy by the legal profession and a model of clarity by lay readers.

In three days one reporter covered stories on seismology, gamma rays, and protein synthesis. And then for light relief, he went over to the Pentagon and took some of the mystery out of the defense budget.

These reporters who are coming along today—and they can be found on many papers in many cities—are good. They carry no pictures of “idiot boys” on their typewriters. They meet the reader on a plane of respect, and they are helping him to discern which way the wheels are turning deep down below the surface.

THE EDITOR

Now what about the editor? I am speaking, of course, of the editors who handle the news—the managing editors who direct the entire news staffs of our newspapers, the telegraph editors who select the news from special correspondents and the wire services, the city editors who direct the local staffs, and the bureau managers who give the assignments and edit the copy in Washington or overseas.

If there is only one difference between a good reporter and a bad stenographer, there is only one difference between a good editor and a baby sitter. The good editor never lets the children fall asleep.

On one side, he is a mentor to his reporters, encouraging them, restraining them when necessary, helping them to perceive the way the wheels are going round. On the other he is a friendly counsellor to the reader, trying to bring the world to his doorstep and nudging him when he begins to doze over the facts and views turned up by reporters.

Between the reporter and the reader, today's editors are having a lively time. I can tell you from personal experience that it is no easy thing to have to ride herd on the new breed of reporters with their excellent schooling, their insatiable curiosity, and their capacity for absorbing new knowledge as fast as an electronic computer. And it is

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no easy thing to satisfy the appetites of the new reader—once his interest and curiosity are aroused.

In this situation it is no longer enough for an editor to be a good technician. Every paper in the country has technicians. If the Queen Mary went down off the coast tonight, every American paper would work a technical miracle. There would be running accounts, interviews with survivors and rescuers, biographical sketches of the better-known passengers, historical comparisons with other catastrophes, and pictures taken from helicopters and transmitted by wireless.

What editors need now in addition to their technical skill is knowledge of the substance of the news. Even our major newspapers, I am afraid, are not moving fast enough in this direction. Perhaps we should take an idea from the editorial pages, which do have specialists on world affairs, domestic politics, state politics, municipal government, and such broad fields as education, labor, and economics. Perhaps we should be encouraging more bright young reporters to look upon editing as the natural culmination of their career, bringing their wide knowledge and their specialization to the process of selection and presentation of the news. As one who has moved for thirty years between reporting and editing, I believe that the watertight compartment between the two that exists on most newspapers is a mistake.

Undoubtedly, we have reached a time when editors will have to go back to school. Today's newspapers cannot be edited by men and women whose formal schooling ended twenty or thirty years ago. When a man on the editing side reaches the age of thirty-five or forty, we ought to think of sending him back to school. Twelve Nieman fellows a year is not enough; the newspapers ought to be providing fellowships of this kind on their own initiative for the members of their staff who hold unusual promise.

Better still, we ought to be thinking of ways of bringing refresher courses to the editors. Some of us in the *Times* bureau were talking about this in Washington the other day. Our immediate concern was the new foreign aid program. Here was a field in which this

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country had done great things and also made serious errors. Now a new administration was trying to find a new approach. To understand what was going on would require a general grasp of economics, some knowledge of the special problems of the underdeveloped countries, an understanding of the balance of payments problem, and a great deal more. Wouldn't it be a good idea, someone asked, if one of the universities or foundations would sponsor a two or three week cram course on this problem for Washington correspondents and editors?

Or take the many problems raised by Communist China. Some day this country will face a number of hard policy choices, another member of our group pointed out. Wouldn't it be a good idea if we knew something about the history of relations between Russia and China and the more recent relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese communists? Shouldn't we also know something about China's encroachments over the centuries on South East Asia? Shouldn't we know more than we do about the internal situation in China, the relations of Peiping with the other members of the Communist bloc, and Chinese demands on the free world? If we really sweated for a few weeks—reading, listening to lectures, discussing—wouldn't we be better prepared to explain our problems with China to the people of this country and help them toward acceptance of the most suitable policy decisions?

The idea can undoubtedly be applied right here at Marquette. Undoubtedly, you have on the faculty men who are experts on at least one issue that is now of concern to the editors and people of this state. Perhaps you could pioneer, organize an experimental course, get foundation backing, and prove the utility of this kind of adult education.

Whatever the means, we shall have to add broadened knowledge to the technical skills of the men and women who edit our papers.

THE READER

This bring us at last to the reader.

The American newspaper reader is the most important and

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powerful individual in the world. Upon the soundness of his judgments, the fate of the community and the nation ultimately depend. How is he meeting his responsibility to inform himself so that his judgments in public matters may indeed be sound? What should be done to bring him into the relationship of mutual respect with the editor and reporter that I have been talking about?

Perhaps we should leave well enough alone and be content if the reader pays his nickel or dime and keeps his dog from biting the newsboy. But we really need more than that from the reader. We need inspiration, challenge.

Newspapers vary, of course, in size and quality. But every newspaper, no matter how small, can and should give thorough coverage to the community that supports it. If the reader cannot find in the paper the information he needs to be an effective citizen of the community, he has good reason to be mad. If, on the other hand, the information is there and he doesn't bother to read it, the editor has, if not a right to be mad, a good reason to be despondent.

I have a strong feeling, based on considerable experience, that readers are not taking advantage of the good solid news and background that is available in most newspapers. Let me give you an illustration.

Ten years ago I was the editor of a morning and afternoon newspaper in a North Carolina city. It was a model community in many ways, but like others, it had its dark corners. Our morning newspaper took a candid look at one of these dark corners, a slum area that we called "Juke Street." As a result of what we turned up, the Mayor appointed a Civic Betterment Committee.

The first thing the Committee did was to issue a report condemning our newspaper for giving prominence to a story about the sexual acrobatics of a well-known actress and another about the murder of a college student.

I asked for a chance to reply, and when I faced the committee, I said:

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"Let me ask you a question. How many of you know anything about our World Affairs Program?"

One member, a school principal, said she knew about it and thought it was wonderful. But the nine men on the committee, all of them prominent citizens, had never heard of it.

"Gentlemen," I said, "for the past three years your community newspaper has been conducting an educational program in world affairs that has received nationwide attention.

"We have prepared the materials with the help of a much bigger newspaper and one of the big state universities. These materials—booklets, background articles, quiz papers, and so on—have been given without charge to schools and individuals.

"We now have three hundred high schools in this state and neighboring states participating in the program, and others as far away as Texas and California asking us to help them.

"This program has had extraordinary publicity. Each Monday morning we have published a background article with maps, charts, and pictures in full color. Each Thursday we have published a quiz. We have run front page stories on the progress of the program and full-page ads telling our readers how they can participate.

"Now you tell me that you are not aware of this major educational effort by your community newspaper. Yet you are all fully aware of a couple of smutty stories that we published.

"Gentlemen," I concluded, "if you were in my place, wouldn't you feel rather discouraged about this?"

Whatever our newspapers may be now, they will not become better until we have better readers.

The editor and reporter who are trying to bring the world to the reader's doorstep must feel a response. They ought to overhear discussion and small talk about the serious information they have printed as they move about town. Occasionally they should get a message of praise or blame by phone or letter.

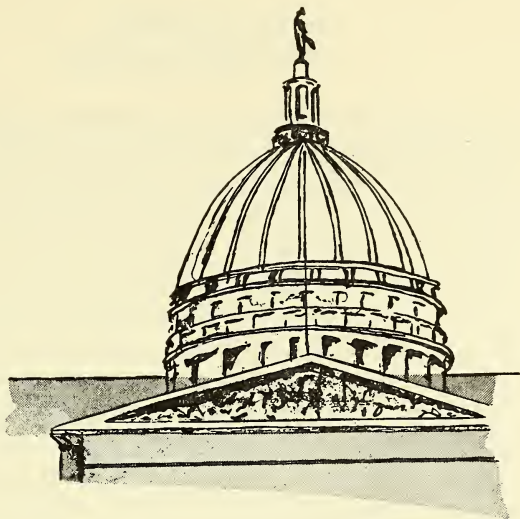
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This interest in the paper and response by the reader is the measure of respect he owes to the reporter and editor who are trying to help him with his job as a citizen.

Given this parallel effort for understanding and respect by the reader, the reporter, and the editor, we may say good-by forever to the grinning image on the typewriter.

John J. Casserly



THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THERE'S a street in the city of Rome that is called the Via della Conciliazione—the Way of Conciliation. It's a modern and wide avenue among the narrow streets and cobblestones of Old Rome. The Way, about a half-mile long, leads directly to St. Peter's Square. There, rising above the roofs, is the most beautiful basilica of all time. The famous dome of Michelangelo is there. The bones of long-gone Popes are beneath its marble floors. There is a statue of St. Peter, himself. And one of his feet is worn from the kisses of pilgrims over the centuries. There is something almost haunting about it all—the ghosts of time. Behind and to the right of the Basilica is the Holy See, the Vatican, weather-beaten and wise in its old age.

It's a very pleasant walk on a Sunday afternoon—a stroll up the Via della Conciliazione to the giant square. People laugh and there's dancing and music in the restaurants nearby. Four years ago, the length

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of a university education, an American reporter walked up this street for the first time in his life. It was to be, in newspaper parlance, his new "beat." Indeed, it was a most impressive sight. But even more impressive were the words of a man with him. He said: "Here is the greatest story of all time—the story of Jesus Christ." It is the most noble of all conciliation—peace between God and man.

The last time the reporter had been at a peace table was on July 27, 1953. On that bright, sunny morning at a place called Panmunjom, Korea, the United Nations Command signed a truce with the representatives of North Korea and Chinese Communism. It seemed like a world away. And, indeed, it was. The rules, if one would call them that, for covering a war and the Vatican are as different as night and day. War is booming artillery, strafing planes, landing ships and marching men. It comes up and hits you in the face with a wallop. And it tears your heart out with emotion. Not so at the Holy See. Very little of covering the Vatican appears on the surface. Its secrecy is legendary. So much goes back into history. Like the Via della Conciliazione. The avenue used to be in the heart of one of Rome's largest slums. It was built by a dictator, Benito Mussolini, after the Lateran Pacts of 1927. Il Duce dedicated the avenue to peace and concord between the Italian government and a new, inviolate state—the Vatican. Some 108 acres of ground, separated from Italy and the outside world by a tall, encircling wall as well as a strip of white line drawn across the center of St. Peter's Square.

There are nearly 50 nations with embassies accredited to the Holy See today. Another 17 countries have legations attached to the Vatican. It may be interesting to note some of these nations: the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Indonesia, the government of Chiang Kai-shek, Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, the United Kingdom. The United States is not represented. There are also what might be termed "unofficial observers" of the Holy See. That is, nations which have representation accredited to Italy and, at the same time, follow Vatican events closely. One such nation is the Soviet Union. The same is true

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for their satellite nations and others not allied with Communism. It is no secret that the communists have, at times, attempted to get inside news and even tried to infiltrate the Vatican. This, for the reporter, is background. And nowhere is background so vitally important as at the Vatican.

Background—what is it? At the Vatican, it's a thorough knowledge of Catholic philosophy, theology, dogma, and above all, strange as it might seem, tradition. Tradition in a wide sense. Not only the early spoken word and later writings based on these reports of the Catholic religion but the tradition of the papacy and the Vatican, itself. Its history—troubles and triumphs. From observation, this appears to be the principal weakness of journalists covering the Vatican today. This, of course, is a generalization. There are men who have devoted a lifetime to Vatican news coverage and are, indeed, very well versed in almost everything connected with the Catholic church. Thus, we come almost immediately to the paradox that faces nearly every correspondent assigned to the Vatican: how to tell the story briefly and yet include religious and historical explanations of what it really means in perspective. The paradox lies, not so much with the reporter, but the story as it appears in the newspaper. It sometimes happens that important phrases of qualification or historical facts are cut for the sake of newspaper space, holding the story instead of to 700 words to 500 words. Here the same paradox gets even deeper: editors send men to Rome and keep them there for many years for the precise reason that it takes long experience to explain and interpret Vatican events well.

Explanation, interpretation, background on events—men say these are the great challenges of modern newspaper journalism. Somewhere between Rome and the reader, however, stories meet a pencil or pair of scissors. It may be an editor on an international news desk in New York. Perhaps, it's a man on the rim of a copy desk in Texas. Sometimes, somewhere, this thing called background and its sidekick, interpretation, gets the grand corral. Stories are not sacred because

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they have a Rome or Vatican City dateline. No more so than London, Paris, Bonn, or Tokyo. And, sometimes, even less.

It's easy to use the word "blame" here. Blame on a hurried man in New York who may be handling three or four different stories at one time. Blame on an editor in Texas because he may have comparatively little background—either on the story itself or the Catholic Church. All he may be interested in, at the moment, is making a deadline. Two factors emerge from this, however, fairly certain: the space problems of newspapers, the amount of news they can print; secondly, this concept on the need for background, the necessity of interpretation and explanation has not been inculcated in the minds of some men on newspaper desks. In the opinion of not a few foreign correspondents, the great challenge and need for deeper news coverage is not being met by most of the daily press in the United States. At least, that is the impression which most of my colleagues abroad have conveyed to me. These challenging concepts have simply not matured in daily journalistic life. For the most part, the deep and the significant is confined to the editorial pages and the columns of political writers and other specialists. This is particularly sad in reports on religious news. The principal reason for this is that even elementary news of religion can be controversial. Many American newspapers will either play down or not touch a certain religious story for precisely the reason of controversy. The major point is, however, that interpretation and background are not getting into newspapers' meat-and-potatoes—that is, the news story, apart from editorials and the specialists.

Part of the reason for this is lack on the part of reporters and foreign correspondents. We are now on dangerous ground. But, if we may be allowed to make a brief comparison: there are a good many highly educated men in the journalistic profession in Europe. Every day, we have the occasion to read *Il Messaggero*, Rome's largest morning daily. It is, for a serious reader, actually a treat to read some of the news accounts on what is happening on the London, Paris, and Washington political scenes. Phrases and events of the French revolution are

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recalled with the click of the typewriter. A statement of Lloyd George is tossed in with the ease of a British historian. There's a quotation from Abraham Lincoln while the United States Senate is debating civil rights. After reading some of these Italian correspondents in London, Paris, and Washington for awhile, a certain realization comes home with a bang. These men are first-class minds—or else they have the greatest sets of quick reference books in the world. They'll toss the name of Napoleon into a story as if he died just a couple of days ago. History becomes daily news. And *Il Messaggero* is not considered to be Italy's best newspaper. In short, many of our European colleagues—we may leave out some of the British press—can offer us fine examples in education and culture in their daily news stories.

For background, explanation, and interpretation, there's almost a classic example at the Vatican today. It's the Ecumenical Council called by Pope John XXIII. This story goes to the heart of the papacy. A very important element in it is that the papacy itself is challenged—not only by some Orthodox Catholics but also by Protestants, Moslems, and other religions. The quote infallibility end of quote of the Pope is elementary to this story. That is, he is infallible, according to Catholic dogma, when speaking “ex cathedra”—from his chair or in his office as Pope—on matters of faith and morals. And only on faith and morals.

Now, this story has gone through some tragic ups and downs. There have been stories on the Ecumenical Council that were false. Like reports suggesting His Holiness or Catholic Cardinals were ready to sit down with theologians of other faiths in Rome and patch up some of the outstanding doctrinal differences among them. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Vatican is not going to compromise on birth control, divorce, or the Immaculate Conception. There's not going to be any round-table discussion with Protestants on whether John XXIII is infallible on faith and morals when speaking as the Pope. Other reports have raised false hopes, for example, that most Orthodox Catholics will return to the supremacy of Rome. There is

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no basis for this in fact at the present time. Both have unquestionably hurt the Ecumenical Council. Correspondents and editorialists have injured themselves as well as something greater—the cause of truth. It is truly tragic when newspapers make such grave errors—through ignorance, incompetence, or outright distortion because of bias or other reasons—that affect the lives and beliefs of millions of people. Some persons, for many reasons, do not wish the Ecumenical Council to succeed. As a result, it may not succeed as well as the council might, had the world's news media done a better job of editing and reporting. To say the least, the subject is one of considerable confusion in the world press.

Some of this responsibility may fall upon the Vatican. As usual, it is secretive about the Council. One must understand, of course, that an American's view of secrecy may not correspond to the Vatican's viewpoint on the same subject. Members of various commissions for the council take oaths not to discuss their work outside their various meetings. A Vatican oath is a tough nut to crack but more than one oath leaves the correspondent in a situation like talking with the dead.

What is the press setup like at the Vatican? How does a correspondent tunnel under those walls?

There is one press officer at the Vatican, Luciano Casimiri. He cannot speak officially for the Vatican. Neither, for that matter, can anyone else there except in rare instances, that is, with papal permission. The Holy See's daily newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, is only a semiofficial voice. Sometimes, the Pope inspires what it says. *L'Osservatore* may then place a bold-lined box around certain words. That is a sign the particular item is the Holy Father's thinking—not necessarily his exact words. This newspaper, therefore, is only a reflection of Vatican thinking. Nevertheless, it is a good reflection. Much of its news, however, is not inspired by priests. It has a staff of 16 laymen who write and edit copy from various sources, including regular news agencies. *L'Osservatore* has only one man who might be considered a reporter, that is, a man who actually searches out news. His name is

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Cesario Lolli, an elderly gentleman who keeps a close eye on the Pope's schedule.

The new correspondent in Rome usually starts out asking questions of Press Officer Casimiri. He soon discovers, however, there are many questions which Casimiri cannot answer—either he doesn't know the replies or, for one reason or another, doesn't want to give the answer. The correspondent soon discovers an unknown quantity known as the Vatican tipster. This is a layman who may have a post on *L'Os-servatore* or gets himself accredited to the Vatican and acts as a kind of go-between. The number of these Vatican tipsters can be counted on one hand. They normally request a monthly payment for their services. These men furnish day-to-day events like the Pope's schedule, various church announcements, and the like. They furnish background and sometimes will seek out answers to a correspondent's questions. However, these tipsters rarely if ever provide scoops. The reason is simple. One tipster may be working for as many as seven or eight different correspondents and news agencies.

Why a tipster for routine news? Because Press Officer Casimiri is not in his office most of the time—including the entire afternoon. He can be found working for an American Catholic news agency. This is an extremely questionable practice not only because many countries besides the United States are interested in the Vatican but also because some secular newsmen see Catholic favoritism in this.

For the real news—the exclusive story or a subject developed in detail—the Vatican correspondent is much like his colleagues in parliaments and foreign offices all over the world. He develops what we call “contacts”—men in positions to know what's going on behind the scenes. In the case of the Vatican, however, these are usually all clergymen. There is one factor at the Vatican, however, that is not true on other normal news beats. The work of many priests and prelates is done under sworn secrecy. Thus, it is good to know many priests not attached to the Vatican who get wind of events and are not bound by secrecy.

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Is it possible for a correspondent to get stories under conditions of sworn secrecy? Yes. Two personal examples: Officers at the Panmunjom peace talks in Korea were supposed to conduct negotiations in secrecy. The communists violated this almost every day by tipping off their news correspondents on what to say to American and other reporters attached to the United Nations Command. We screamed "bloody murder" to an American admiral and later to an American general conducting these talks for the U.N. Command. The Americans, however, stuck by their promise of secrecy comparatively well. This reporter decided on another approach—the South Koreans. The South Koreans were angry. They wanted to march north. On the very day which the Reds and U.N. Command agreed in principle to a truce, the South Koreans slipped me the story. Their purpose was obvious: to try to wreck the peace talks. We broke the story of the end of the Korean war 10 hours before it could be confirmed by any other news organization in the world. What does this mean? Almost anyone will break a pledge of secrecy if there's a good enough reason for it. In the case of the correspondent, he must find the link.

It's true on another basis at the Vatican. One evening at a diplomatic reception, we were talking with a Vatican prelate. We had been good friends, socially, for a long time. Now, this man was handling some secret information and he couldn't talk about it. He decided in his mind, as a friend, to try to give us a scoop and introduced us to another man. This man was not bound by secrecy and my friend introduced the subject of Mother Seton. Tomorrow, the man said, Pope John XXIII would back her cause to become, possibly, America's first native-born saint. As far as one correspondent was concerned, the reception was over. The story and background on the life of Mother Seton moved to New York in about an hour. Why did the prelate act? Friendship. We've never discussed the matter again. Friendship can overcome almost any news barrier—even secrecy.

If a reporter is after a story, he may be advised as to whom to see without breaking secrecy. Why secrecy at the Vatican? A prelate

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once answered this very briefly: "The Vatican is a benevolent monarchy." This answer is obviously an over-simplification and, perhaps, was meant to be. It also must be remembered that the Holy See looks at news, not in terms of today or tomorrow, but in terms of history. Apart from the obvious consideration of diplomatic reports, the Vatican is extremely secretive for another reason: what goes out as news from the Holy See affects not life or death but something infinitely more important—the salvation of souls in many quite different nations. The Vatican must be careful not to give offense to anyone. It may not agree, for example, with the way things are going in Cuba but prelates may hesitate before saying a word. There may be devout Catholics in Cuba who believe all of Castro is not bad; other Catholics in South America may feel he has been deluded but, nevertheless, an idealist, misled. From experience the Vatican prefers to wait almost until its back is against the wall before speaking out on conditions in any nation. Its back is against the wall in Red China today.

Much news from the Vatican emanates from "sources," "authorities," and "diplomats." A newsman may rarely quote the "Vatican." Editors complain: quote somebody, anybody. We're not writing mystery stories for this newspaper. There cannot be any doubt; the "source" story is somewhat weak. For the real news at the Vatican, however, it's almost the rule.

There is another factor in covering the Vatican which many persons do not consider. Many editors have a kind of deathly fear of any controversy with the Vatican. A personal example: The last conclave for the election of the Pope lasted three days. Correspondents from Germany, France, Australia, the United States, and other nations received the same question from editors: "What's going on in there? Write a "think piece." Now, it's no small order to try to outguess a cardinal at any time. And when you've got the Holy Ghost in there, things become even more complicated. Nevertheless, this correspondent sat down one night and proceeded, he thought, to tell our readers what was going on "in there." There was a deadlock. This seemed like a

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safe beginning since no Pope had yet been elected—even after two days of balloting. At the moment, the cardinals were scheduled to be retiring for the night and wouldn't vote again for about eleven hours. In other words, the story would hold up for at least the first editions of the morning papers.

The story explained there were two schools of thought among Italian cardinals, popularly referred to as the "left" and "right." The so-called "left"—Cardinals like Lercaro and Siri—strongly supported the idea that the new pontiff should be a man who would center his attention on the masses. They wanted a Pope of advanced and modern social thinking, someone like Leo XIII or Pius XII. On the "right," led by Cardinal Ottaviani and others, was a conservative group. They emphasized a return to the "doctrinal" school, concentration on an elite who, by good example, would lead the masses. Cardinals from other lands were, of course, well aware of these differences of opinion. Therefore, the story concluded: neither of these two schools of thought have prevailed in the balloting and that is the reason for the deadlock. A compromise may have to be reached. The dispatch went on its way and was printed in our newspapers—except one. A publisher balked. As a non-Catholic, he said, he deeply felt the story would give offense to Catholic readers and, perhaps, the Vatican. It had a ring, he said, of political convention atmosphere: left, right . . . masses, the elite—his newspaper would have no part of such a controversial story. The story, of course, never said this was what was actually happening inside the secret conclave. It did say there was a strong possibility this was the way events were going because of the known fact of different opinions among the cardinals. As a matter of historical fact, the story was probably close to the actual truth. However, the most important consideration is: many editors will omit stories they consider controversial, especially regarding religion. It is a reasonable fear and Vatican correspondents must take this into account. Many religious publications are far more courageous in this regard than the secular press. Exception may be taken to this in consideration of the last presidential

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election campaign. This, however, was precisely an exception—a situation which cried out and could not possibly have been ignored by the secular press.

There are instances when the secular press may show remarkable courage on touchy topics. A personal example: In the summer of 1959, this correspondent went to Africa to interview Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Nobel prize-winner and considered by many to be one of the greatest men of our times. A series of articles were written on Dr. Schweitzer and his hospital but much of the material was critical. These articles were printed with virtually no changes from the original copy. French doctors and others in the area, who knew him well, lashed out at Dr. Schweitzer and were quoted in detail. The story had many religious overtones although the doctor says he does not believe in a personal God. The writing left considerable doubt as to whether the doctor's assistants went to Africa to help the natives or rather to be part of the Schweitzer epoch. This was based on interviews with them. It seemed at the time and still does today that it took quite some courage to print those critical articles. They opposed much that has been written about Dr. Schweitzer but, nevertheless, courage had triumphed in one instance.

The foreign correspondent has always been, more or less, a jack-of-all-trades. He has been asked to cover everything from a royal wedding to a revolution. Once, this correspondent was asked to cover even high fashion showings. It never happened again. A lady expert was asked to come in and relieve this light comedy. This shows one thing: editors and readers are becoming more demanding. They want the specialist and, preferably, the known specialist. Here is a very important distinction: managing editors and readers appreciate the fact that their man in London, Paris, Rome—or Havana—is a veteran there who speaks the language and has many contacts. They wouldn't want to change him to, say, the police or city hall beat, and he probably wouldn't accept anyway. Therefore, everybody's happy. We leave this bloke for a moment, however, because Mr. Walter Lippmann or Mr.

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C. L. Sulzberger has just arrived in his capital. They are going to lay the political picture right on the line. For two or three days, perhaps, the political picture of—let's say France—the country comes under the byline of these experienced and respected gentlemen. There is excitement: what is Lippmann or Sulzberger going to say about De Gaulle? This is fascinating stuff. These men may not know quite as much as their newspapers' Paris correspondents know about the up-to-the-minute situation but they are closer to the diplomatic picture in the United States. This mating, therefore, usually produces high-calibre news copy on U.S. relations with other lands. We are, in our own organization, sending the best men at home on many trips abroad—men such as William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Frank Conniff, Bob Considine and J. Kingsbury Smith. This concept of more traveling by the big byliners is rising fast in importance among American newspapers. We note, for example, that the *Milwaukee Journal* on the local scene has, for years, been sending men on trips abroad.

Men like Lippmann, Sulzberger, or Considine have no reason to replace foreign correspondents abroad. At the same time, they have arrived at the pinnacle in serious American journalism. Therefore, if there may be a big story in Moscow, Paris, or Algeria for a time, why not send them? A new horizon opens up: it opens up the possibility of greater traveling by more highly qualified journalists. From observation, this is a field that is growing far more quickly than many people realize.

For several years, serious men in this profession have noted a basic trend in the American press: more information, more interpretative comment, and less entertainment in the daily newspaper. There is a noticeable increase of responsibility in foreign reporting. The glamorous, hell-for-leather heyday is over. Although the major American wire services have been reduced to two—the Associated Press and the United Press International—syndicates, chains and individual newspapers are branching out with new bureaus abroad. There are two principal reasons for the latter: first, readership demand and more

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individuality on the part of newspapers; secondly, the desire to get away from some of the hard-and-fast straight reporting of the wire services. Due to costs, no one can foresee how far these efforts may go. However, if the demand continues, newspaper budget directors will search for the means of finance. A personal example: This correspondent did a series of articles not too long ago on life and the stark poverty existing in southern Italy. Living conditions were atrocious. Italian Catholics explained in graphic words why they voted for the Communist party. Others went into personal detail on American aid to Italy. We received many letters from various parts of the U.S. on this series and, in addition, a U.S. senator asked for an investigation of American aid to Italy from the floor of Congress. In brief, we tried to be individualistic. We think this detailed, personal-style reporting helped our newspapers. It is a costly operation but the question is: Is it worth it? Here we come to the crucial question—the good resulting. How great is the good to readers?

If one looks at the figures of Americans traveling abroad each year—on business and tourism—the demand is greater than ever in our history. Each succeeding year, the figures break the previous record. For example, nearly one million Americans visit Italy alone each year. Of course, there is an overlapping since the same tourist may also visit France, England, and Spain. Travel prices are decreasing and the experts say Americans will go right on breaking records. More businessmen are on the move, particularly to Europe, because of the Common Market. American-owned factories and personnel are arriving on the continent each month. All this has and will create an appetite among the American public for more and better foreign news. More and better because millions of Americans will have seen Italy, France, Germany, England, and other European nations. This may appear to be the repetition of an old song. It is to a certain extent. However, the melody is getting louder and clearer—from the Neopolitan love song to the throaty tune from Paris—and the public appears to like it. It wants more and “why” about the world overseas—from the political

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swan song to the strains of opening night at La Scala or the Vienna Opera House. The question is: finding out just what and how much fits the American needs. Those who answer those questions well, within their budgets, may reap great respect and rich newspaper rewards—in advertising and other sales revenue. There are still pioneering days in journalism, even in this modern age.

Some of these views may be open to disagreement but then the newspaper business is complex and unanimous agreement is rare. The important thing to realize is that, like in many other fields, there are pioneers and men of vision and your daily newspaper cannot help but get better. Competition is great, so great in fact that a growing number of metropolitan newspapers have been forced to end their careers in the past five years. We may be approaching the era of the great abyss—the single and giant metropolitan daily on one ledger and an entirely new field: the solely “local news” paper in the same city, developed to a local extent we have never known.

A man once asked us if we thought it was worthwhile for a man to be a foreign correspondent. It's not an altogether easy question to answer. We've written stories from about 20 different countries and yet a precise reply always seemed to escape us. We've always thought back to the story of the Korean war. It was an ugly thing and a long way away from home. A private was dying one night and we asked him how he ever got to Korea. He said: “Oh, I don't know, mister. I'm from a little town in Pennsylvania. The army shipped me over here and here I am. All I really know is: this is the way it is. There's no answer. All I ask is they ship my body home. I'm American, you know.”

If one were asked to say what makes a good foreign correspondent, we would reply simply: work, inspiration, and luck. This formula applies to almost any walk of life. Other factors are, of course, necessary but a foreign correspondent cannot succeed without all of these three factors. For at least this one correspondent, the most important thing of all was inspiration. A man said to us 10 years ago this month here in Milwaukee when we started out as a cub reporter: “Never be-

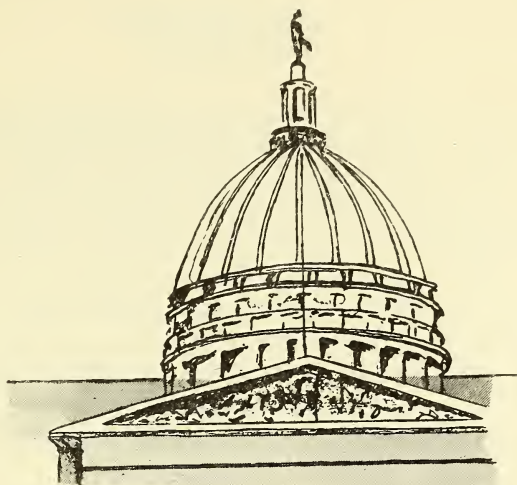
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come cynical." That man was then the city editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*. He is now the managing editor of that newspaper, Mr. George A. Tracy. A kind man and a gifted teacher of young reporters. We have never forgotten him and never will. He had and communicated the intangible—the enthusiasm, the inspiration. If we are here today, it is because of the education we received at Marquette University under Dean J. L. O'Sullivan and the inspiration of a gentleman, George Tracy.

The College of Journalism of Marquette University now celebrates its Fiftieth Anniversary. It will be interesting to note what the graduates and alumni of fifty years from now will think of today—the problems discussed, the answers, the sure reply which proved to be wrong. Let's hope that some of us may be around. In the meantime, we may recall the words of the late secretary of state, John Foster Dulles: "Since the founding of this nation, the American people have believed that they have a mission in the world."



Paul McMahon



TRAVEL REPORTING

ONE of the loudest postwar explosions in the world—other than bombs—has been the spectacular expansion in the field of travel. American tourists are on the move, in their homeland and abroad, in numbers never before approached and not even dreamed of a decade ago. The end is nowhere in sight. In fact, all predictions are that tourism will continue to grow.

It is interesting to recall that before World War II, virtually the only travel abroad by Americans was done to places where a ship could take them. Vast areas of the world were difficult to reach. Foreign travel was possible only for those Americans who had plenty of time, besides some money.

But, after the war, the passenger plane came into its own. In late years, huge, swift jets were placed in use. They now carry loads of more than 100 passengers 575 miles an hour to parts of the world which many old time travelers never expected to reach.

Paul McMahon is a 1933 graduate of the Marquette University College of Journalism. As Travel Editor of the Milwaukee *Journal* he has traveled to all areas of the world.

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The big boom in travel, particularly international, came in the decade of the 1950s and most of it in the last half of that decade.

The United States passport office issued or renewed 300,000 passports in 1950. Last year's total was 853,000. The office predicts that by next year it will be handling one million passport applications a year, more than three times the number of 1950.

Here in Milwaukee there has been a parallel increase in foreign travel. In 1946, the first full year after World War II, the clerk of the federal district court here handled 675 passport applications. In 1949, for the first time in this city's history, the number of applications handled by the Milwaukee office reached 1,000. But last year the total exceeded 3,800, an all time record.

Of course, the number of passport applications is not an accurate indication of the extent of foreign travel by Americans. Several million Americans will travel this year to Canada, Mexico, certain Caribbean countries and other areas where a passport is not required.

Although the main aspect in this presentation will be the coverage of foreign travel by Americans, it should be pointed out that the expansion in American travel is not confined to international trips. Actually, about 85 per cent of the Americans who take a vacation do so in their automobiles. Some go to Canada, some to Mexico, but the vast majority stay within continental United States.

What has happened in domestic travel in the last decade is clearly indicated by records of our national park service. Attendance at national parks in 1950 totaled 26,000,000; in 1960 it approached 66,000,000, two and a half times the 1950 attendance.

In twenty-eight states of this country, plus the District of Columbia, tourism now is rated one of the three top industries. New York City reports that tourism alone has brought two and a half billion dollars to the city in each of the last two years.

The impetus in travel, domestic and foreign, has been due to a number of factors: a generally high level of economy; longer vacations and greater leisure time; a rapidly growing adult population; an ex-

panding population of retired persons with time and money for travel; the extremely fast jet airplane service which has brought every part of the earth within the time reach of any traveler and at new low fares; a greater curiosity among our people about the world in general; the relaxation of travel curbs, and a greater comfort and ease in getting places.

What has been the impact of the travel boom on the field of communications in our country? What has it meant to shrink the world to almost half of its former size and to send rivers of human beings flowing toward countries and continents in every direction?

One answer is that every media of communications is extending to travel an emphasis rarely shown a few years ago. Newspapers which once wrapped a column or less of travel news around a few advertisements for the Sunday paper now use pages of travel news and, several times each year, devote entire sections to travel. With this has come a demand for more dependable travel stories, better reporting, fewer puffs, and more accurate guidance.

The travel pages are being directed not only toward the traveler but also toward millions of persons who for one reason or another cannot make trips, yet are eager to read about strange sights and customs around the world.

What are the problems, what are the difficulties, encountered in bringing to readers the news, information, and facts about interesting places and people?

In the domestic field they are fewer than in the foreign. Mainly because it is relatively new as a major industry, tourism lacks well-informed, dependable sources of information. Adequate statistics, necessary in the reporting of developments within an industry, are hard to find. Excellent work along this line is being performed by the United States Passport Office under the direction of Miss Frances Knight.

A number of states, including Wisconsin, have conducted surveys of tourism within their borders in recent years and such informa-

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tion is helpful. The trouble is that there is too little solid information and too few places where it can be obtained.

In the field of international travel coverage, we also run into this lack of dependable news sources, but there are other basic difficulties too.

Some of the problems involved in international travel reporting are similar to those experienced by other members of this panel. Some are different. A handicap all of us have in common is censorship. I ran into it on a recent trip through southern Russia and in the Middle East.

But, before we go into the censorship situation in Russia, I would like to point out another form of repression there. When a tourist, and that includes a travel writer, wants to visit Russia, he must buy a certain tour through the Russian government's tourist office, called Intourist.

The Russians were very friendly to me but I had to stick to the route outlined in my tour. In the tours which my wife and I bought, we were entitled to three hours each day of chauffeur-driven, professionally guided traveling. One day our guide reminded us that we were not using all of the six hours a day of chauffeur time to which we were entitled. I said: "Okay, let's take a day and drive into the countryside so that I can see a little of rural Russia." My guide was baffled. This area wasn't within the tour limits of my trip.

The Russians were very willing that I get all of the driving time to which I was entitled but it had to be within the boundaries of my tour area. They informed me that I could not depart from those particular boundaries. It was a question of riding back and forth over the same roads in order to get my allowance in, or simply forgetting about it. I forgot about it.

In its own fashion, that is a form of censorship. The censorship which I experienced involved mainly getting film out of the various countries for use back home with my travel stories. Pictures are always important, but no field seems to cry out more loudly for illustrations

than travel stories. Life is so different from ours in many parts of the world that words, without the help of pictures, seem too feeble sometimes to tell the story.

How do you tell someone in Milwaukee, who never has seen the Orient, what life is like along the canals of Bangkok if you only can use words? It isn't too difficult to describe places in England, Ireland, Italy, Germany, or Scandinavia because those are the ancestral homes of many of our readers. The customs, food, even the language we know here, were brought over by them. In other words, even a person who never has been outside Milwaukee has some common denominators which permit him to grasp word pictures of Europe.

But our life has no common denominators with the Orient, certainly none with life along the klongs of Bangkok. These narrow, dirty canals, so jammed with little boats that you can almost walk across them, are the only roads these people have. They use the canals for bathing, washing, and dumping garbage.

The people live in little frame shacks built on stilts over the water. Their shops and stores are constructed in the same fashion. Their only transportation is by boat. Vendors clog the canals, their canoes filled with rice, bananas, bread, sweets, hot tea, or whatever else they may be selling. A reader back home needs a picture to help him visualize this primitive river life.

In Russia, I took a number of pictures trying to illustrate certain stories. However, I knew that because of censorship it would be foolish to try to mail the film home. So I kept it, and the stories, until I could reach wonderful Vienna.

My next stop was Egypt where I quickly learned that the government has a complete mail censorship. Although there was nothing of military importance about my reporting or my photographs, I knew it would be unwise to gamble on getting anything through the mail uncensored in Egypt. I did not want the delay that censorship would take and I did not want the government developing my film. Governments sometimes toss out pictures simply because they show scenes of

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primitive life. Some tourists who mail film back home discover that while they get home, the film does not.

So I carried my stories and film to Lebanon, where, an apparently good news source in Cairo had told me, I would have no censorship trouble whatsoever. As a routine precaution, however, I checked the situation in Beirut before going to the postoffice. To my dismay I learned that Lebanon has censorship on film. Letters, however, do not come under the close scrutiny of the censor's eye and I therefore was able to mail my stories about Egypt.

But how about my film? It had to get out of there so that it would be in Milwaukee in time for use with the stories which I had sent. I am not free to explain how it was done, but I got the film out of Lebanon. In fact, I don't know exactly how it was done. An acquaintance wise in the ways of the world introduced me to a fellow who said he could arrange it but that my company would be billed \$8 for the service. This was a cheap investment.

After visits in Lebanon and Syria, I arrived in Jordan with an accumulation of film. There again I ran into censorship. Fortunately, I had a contact with a person in the government tourist office. I described carefully what each roll of film contained. He went to the censor in my behalf and got permission on that occasion and a subsequent one, to mail the film out.

Then came Israel and, to my surprise, film censorship again. But here kindly and intelligent government tourist officials also interceded in my behalf. They accompanied me to the censor's office where, after explaining the contents of my film, the censor stamped my package with his okay and accepted it for mailing. It must be obvious that one of the handicaps of operating in this manner is the loss of precious time consumed in getting a censor's approval—if you get it.

Except for this matter of film, the censorship of foreign governments does not hurt a travel reporter as much as it does newsmen handling political or spot news coverage. Much of their material must be cabled and the censorship there usually is sharper than censorship

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of the mail. The lack of a particular deadline and the nature of their copy permit travel writers to use the mails.

The language barrier is a factor in covering international travel assignments, but it is not an overwhelming one and it definitely is diminishing rapidly as an obstacle in communication. In contrast to many newsmen, who speak the language of the country to which they are more or less permanently assigned, a travel writer cannot hope to speak the languages of the wide variety of nations which he must visit. The redeeming fact is, however, that English is quite universally spoken. Everywhere one travels, he will hear some English. The situation is improving rapidly because school children in most foreign countries now are required to learn English in the classroom. In ten years the tourist who speaks only English will have a very easy time.

There is, however, one impediment to communications in travel writing which I believe transcends any of the obstacles mentioned previously. It has to do with human nature, with the crossing of an inward, mental barrier which sometimes separates a reporter from the people about whom he is writing. Let me explain this a little.

My personal opinion is that travel writing should be warm and intimate. It should deal heavily with people. Mountains can be beautiful, rivers majestic, waterfalls awesome, but there is nothing more exciting than people.

The more these people differ from our own, the stranger their customs, the more unusual the pattern of their life—the more exciting these people are. But this can also make them more difficult to write about because a reporter has a great deal to learn himself. He must find a way to get close to these people, if he is to capture their enchanting life for his readers. This isn't always easy. It isn't always hard.

Language isn't too serious an obstacle. There's always a third person to interpret. A background of ill will need not be insurmountable. There are in this world a considerable number of nations where the people are not warm toward America. This feeling may be envy, it may be resentment, it may be anger induced by propaganda, it may

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be a bad feeling caused by misunderstanding. It may be justified or, as I believe, it may not be justified. But it is there.

Fortunately, it is a fact that, while a people may be taught to have a dislike for another nation, this antagonism doesn't get down to the level where a man in one country automatically hates a man in another. Something has to happen, rather personally, to make those two particular persons mad at each other. So thus it is, that, regardless of any political differences between governments or bad feeling between two peoples, when two individuals meet their first instinct is to be friendly.

What then can be the difficulty in communicating? To me it seems that it is the veneer which covers human nature everywhere. Human nature is a rather constant quality, over the world and through the ages. Yet, in each country—including our own—customs, background, history, culture, and a multitude of other influences cover a people with a special coating which distinguishes them one from another.

The secret for the travel writer in a strange land is how to rub off this veneer so that he can touch the warm and universal thing we call "human nature." Once this contact is made, and understanding flows gently between two strangers, all of the complicated aspects are dissipated.

I can recall a day in the Fiji islands of the south Pacific, an area only 75 or 100 years removed from cannibalism. The Fijians of the countryside live in little villages of ten or twenty thatched-covered, one room huts. Each village has a head man and over a group of villages is a chief called a "buli."

I wanted very much to visit a village and to observe their way of life. But you can't just walk into a Fijian village, friendly though the people are, and say "Hey, pal, show me around this place!"

One day I heard that a nearby buli had summoned the head men of his villages for a conference to assign men to help build a new hut for a family. This, I thought, would be a wonderful time for a visit.

After checking around, I discovered that it was poor etiquette to visit a chief without bringing a gift. The best gift, partly because it symbolizes a chief's authority, is yaqona, the dried roots of a plant which, when mixed with water, makes the national drink of the Fijian. It is the same plant which people in the Polynesian Islands call "kava."

I stopped at a village market and bought several bundles of roots. They cost me 70 cents. Arriving at the village, I sent my gift to the chief through an emissary. The buli sent word back that he would be glad to receive me in his hut. When I entered I found the buli flanked by his headmen, all barefoot and sitting cross-legged on the matted floor. I was invited to sit on the floor at the other end, facing them. Then one of the headmen made yaqona. He crushed the roots and tossed them, dirt and all, into a pan of water. After stirring, he took a bunch of small brush and swept it slowly through the water to catch all extraneous matter. When the brush got wet, he wrung it out and tossed it over to another headman near the entrance to the hut. This headman shook it and tossed it back to the other headman who then resumed his straining job.

Eventually, the yaqona was ready for drinking. In keeping with custom, the buli was served the first drink. Then one of the headmen approached me, knelt on both knees and, holding out a coconut shell of yaqona in his two hands, invited me to drink. I did. They were pleased that I drank it all in one gulp, which is a sign of enjoying it. Recalling the circumstances under which it was made, I couldn't think of any better way of getting rid of it.

The yaqona drinking went on for some time. I sensed that the attitude of the buli and his headmen was one of friendliness toward me. Later, the buli escorted me on a tour of his village, showing me how their huts were built, how the women cooked in the communal kitchen, how boys speared fish in the ocean, how they dressed the wild pigs which they also killed with spears. He invited me to remain in the village as long as I desired, explaining that a hut and food would

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be provided for as long as I would say. The bridge between us had been crossed.

The most fascinating thing about a Fijian is his tremendous growth of hair which stands fluffily atop a man's head sometimes to a depth of four inches. There is nothing like his head of hair anywhere in the world. A Fijian's hair is his badge of honor and it is considered an insult for anyone to touch it. I had a waiter in a hotel dining room with an especially luxurious growth. He must have known that it entranced me because of the questions I put to him.

We visited frequently during mealtime, usually in small talk. One day I asked him whether I could have permission to take his picture. He consented. He appeared for our appointment in his brightest skirt and with sandals covering his usually bare feet. He brought his comb, too, a wooden thing one foot long and with teeth six inches long. He said that he thought I might like to have it in the picture.

After the pictures were taken, we sat on the beach and he asked questions about America, most of them about waiters. How much did they earn? Did they work as he did? Do waiters have cars in America? Finally, he turned to me and said:

"You may touch my hair."

His completely unexpected invitation overwhelmed me. I touched his hair lightly. Then he said:

"You may put your hand through my hair and touch my head."

It was plain that for us the bridge had been crossed.

Sometimes strange circumstances conspire to handicap a travel reporter even when other factors are favorable. Passing through the mountains of interior Guatemala, I one day came upon an isolated Indian village in which no one ever had heard of the United States. Enchanted by the thought of such an incredibly remote community, I drew with my finger in the dust of the village street a rough map, indicating the position of their village, Mexico and the United States. My interpreter, who knew the Indians' dialect, translated. The on-lookers were neither impressed nor interested. They were friendly

enough. But I just didn't seem able to break through. There were in this case absolutely no common denominators to work with. All of the villagers were barefoot. As we were walking through the village, a little boy crept up, touched a finger to my wife's leg and ran like a thief into the nearest hut. The little fellow was overwhelmed with wonderment. He never before had seen stockings.

Sometimes the presence of a person in whom native people have confidence is the quickest way for a travel writer to penetrate the barriers. High in the Andes mountains of Peru live simple Indian people who know little about the outside world. They cut their grain by hand and thresh it by spreading it on the ground and flailing it with big sticks. They have no watches but they can tell perfect time by the sun.

They are aloof and distant toward strangers. One day a missionary took me into this country so that I might see how the people lived and worked. The people knew and respected the missionary. They welcomed me because I was with him. We stopped in the fields where women, babies strapped to their back, worked beside their men. We visited their small, one room huts with the bare earth for a floor. The principal food for these poor people was a kind of soup which they ate three times a day. On this particular day I knew we had crossed the bridge when a family invited us to eat with them. The father of the house, in a supreme display of friendship, brought out a long treasured onion and dropped it into the soup.

So it goes. Some days you cross the bridge. Some days you don't. However, if a travel reporter will approach people with an understanding heart, he seldom will be rejected.

Of course, people are not the only subjects a travel reporter writes about, even though I consider them the most exciting. He must cover places of tourist and vacation interest, like areas of scenic grandeur, resorts, hotels, methods of transportation, restaurants, and a host of other aspects of vacation trips.

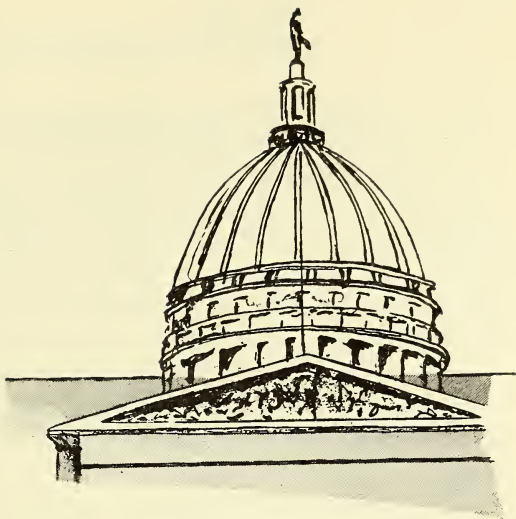
To all of this he must bring the same high standards of honest reporting, the same integrity, that is expected of all other forms of

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reporting. He must fight off temptations to go easy on criticism or to go heavy on flattery because of treatment which sometimes is special. He must keep in mind the same rule that all other reporters must remember—namely, that his only obligation is to be honest with his readers.

Fred Zusy



PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

THE Associated Press list of the ten biggest newspaper stories for 1960 is a good way to start any discussion of the problems of foreign correspondents, just to put the thing in focus.

These were the stories:

1. Presidential Election.
2. U-2 Incident and Powers Trial.
3. Collapse of the Summit Conference.
4. Independence for African Nations.
5. Two Airliners Collide.
6. Castro Turns Toward Soviet.
7. Khrushchev at the U.N.
8. Space and Nuclear Affairs.

Fred Zusy is a 1937 graduate of the Marquette University College of Journalism. He had wide experience as a wire service foreign correspondent prior to establishing the Continental Press Service in Washington, D.C.

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9. Eisenhower Trip to Japan Cancelled.
10. Sit-ins; New Orleans.

Six of the ten can be put in the "foreign" category, yet all had major domestic angles. And even the "domestic" variety were of singular importance in other lands. I have not put any label on the "space-nuclear" category, insofar as the subject of foreign correspondents is concerned, although a number of reports on these achievements have come out with a Moscow or London dateline—the latter representing monitored Soviet broadcasts. We can also note here that Turner Catledge, managing editor of the *New York Times*, told the Georgia Press Institute earlier this year that he expects one day to assign a reporter to make a trip into outer space. He also said that if he lives long enough he might also send a reporter on assignment to the moon.

Thus, we can see that the news horizon is broadening constantly, bringing with it new problems to be solved. (I can think of some that might present themselves on the moon for example: will there be a cablehead available for filing—will it be government-controlled—will the correspondent have to submit his copy in English or Russian?)

Overseas trips by President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, and others in recent years have also added a new dimension to the foreign correspondent's job, bringing scores more into the club who hitherto ranked as Washington staffers or local star reporters. These correspondents encounter unique problems which I will not attempt to go into. They are the obvious ones, however, that follow from being part of a fast-moving troupe, touching down in one country or one place for only a few days, or even hours, before moving on again. There is a squeeze on time—time to cover what is happening, time to write it, and time to sleep. The simpler demands like food and laundry seem to solve themselves. Usually, I'm told, adequate filing facilities have been set up in advance.

The Cold War has wrought evident changes. Newspaper readers, now aware that what happens in the Congo or in Laos may decide whether American soldiers fight again, have developed a much greater

interest in foreign news. The foreign dateline has become less impersonal. Part of this interest is due to the inspired guidance of some newspaper editors who have made foreign news more palatable. And the men who write the foreign datelined stories are probably doing a better job, too. The Castro-Communist takeover in Cuba is perhaps the best illustration of how the Cold War has made this a smaller world. Havana, of course, was always just over the back fence for a newspaper in Miami. Today, however, it's a backyard story for readers of the *Milwaukee Journal*, or the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, or the *Waukesha Freeman*, (of which I have fond memories).

Foreign news has achieved new hometown dimensions in another important respect. One of every 100 Americans lives and works abroad today. They are getting to know the world as no generation of Americans before them. And what happens to them—described in letters they write back home—makes the lands they live in less foreign to the stay-at-homes. Our immense foreign aid program, representing the spending of tax dollars, has been another reason for people to keep an eye on overseas developments. Expanding business interests has also built more interest in foreign news. U.S. industry now has some 1,100 overseas plants all over the world.

One more comment along this line and I'll pass on to another subject. Because we are so close to it, we may fail to appreciate how communications have improved in our lifetime. It's little more than a hundred years ago (1858) that the first trans-Atlantic cable was laid. It's been only 90 years since Stanley found Livingstone in what was then the wilds of Africa. (My wife, Mary Jane, and I spent part of our honeymoon in Tanganyika, where the encounter took place). Today, Timbuktu is on the tourist trail and that other lost corner of the world, Lhasa, would be too if it were not for the Bamboo Curtain. There have been multiplying links of radio, television, jet airplanes. Newspapers are now issued in national, even international editions. Communications satellites will soon circle an even smaller world.

What have been the problems of foreign correspondents in the

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world we have known for the last decade or so? I have had some personal experience over a widespread area—an experience that has been all the more interesting because it was, for the most part, off the beaten tourist track. I should note that part of my experience is dated in that I have not maintained an overseas residence as a foreign correspondent for little more than four years. However, I have traveled overseas since and in my present role as Washington correspondent for a number of overseas newspapers I still fit the definition if you look at it from the right viewpoint. I am now a foreign correspondent, but one operating in his own country.

There are certain qualities that a foreign correspondent probably should possess although the essential one is the quality required for any other writing job on a newspaper—that he be a good reporter, a man who looks, with his eyes open, chooses the relevant facts, and writes them in simple language. So far as the actual writing is concerned, I think William Randolph Hearst put it well when he said: “I do not think it much of a trick to write. Anybody who can think can write. It does not take much practice to put thoughts into words. All you have to do is to have some thoughts which are worth putting into words.”

I think it helps any newspaperman, including any foreign correspondent, to strip his job of all Hollywood glamor, working always with a skeptical mind and eye. As everyone knows, of course, most newsmen are forced to skepticism anyway to hide an excessive romanticism that is a failing of the trade. But I repeat the counsel, adding that a foreign correspondent has won half the battle if he is not impressed or awe-struck by a place or situation just because it is strange, or foreign, or unknown to his experience. I personally discovered that Khartoum, (at the junction of the White and Blue Niles), or Abadan (at the head of the Persian Gulf), were as easy a journalistic beat as Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin—the locale of my first newspaper job after graduation from Marquette in June, 1937.

It helps some to know a foreign language, and I would still rate French the highest, even at this date, unless one is preparing specifically

for Moscow. French is good because it is the second language of most diplomats and many other educated persons most everywhere.

Many correspondents now overseas got started as war correspondents in World War II. There were relatively few foreign correspondents before the War. Language was not much of a problem in 1945. It was easy to get by with only English. But particularly in Europe this is no longer true. It is impossible to do an honest job of reporting from countries like Germany, Italy, Spain—and of course the USSR—unless one reads and speaks the local language. Spanish and/or Portuguese is vital in Latin America and French is a mighty good tool in the former French colonies of Africa and Indo-China. But on the whole one can get by fairly well with English throughout most of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Inability to speak the local language is not a problem for a reporter although he could do a better job if he knew it. I include in this group such languages as Arabic, Greek, Persian, Turkish, Hindu, Urdu, Swahili, Chinese, Burmese, and Japanese.

Before going into the peculiar problems of foreign correspondents, let's exclude consideration of some. Since we're looking at this through the eyes of the man in the field, I'm not going to take up the problem commonly known as "the desk butchering copy." A correspondent sitting thousands of miles away, knowing he has cabled a gem of a story—a world scoop—has no choice but to regard any deskman who manhandles his copy as a stupid oaf. Here is one illustrative story I heard only recently. A friend of mine was in Amman, Jordan, several years ago during an unsuccessful army coup—the only American reporter there; he cabled off a scoop which wound up on page 14, cut down at that. Forty-eight hours later when the wire services caught up to the story—tipped off by this reporter—his paper bannered it on page 1. Fortunately it's not an everyday occurrence and most desk men do the best they can. There is one news magazine which has a reputation out in the field for such a thorough reworking of copy sent in by its overseas correspondents that it's a rare reporter who recognizes his brainchild in print. The magazine pays well, however—a handsome reward

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for frustration. I have decided to eliminate radio and television correspondents from this discussion because I know little of their work. I would suspect, however, they have their own frustrations because of stringent air-time limitations.

We're eliminating, too, correspondents who cover the President or other officials on a quick overseas trip as well as local star reporters or Washington correspondents who make periodic swings overseas. The broadening experience gained on these trips, brief though they may be, is invaluable, but the men who make them will tell you themselves that it takes time to dig below the surface anywhere. I'll touch on some of their problems anyway because the same difficulties are also encountered by a foreign correspondent living overseas.

One large group of correspondents—those working in such Western European cities as London, Paris, or Rome—operate under conditions very similar to a reporter in New York or Chicago, except, of course, for the language. Moscow, of course, is in a class by itself. (I have never been there.)

My own personal experience with a wire service in Rome was that a large part of the job is the same kind of routine desk work that an AP or UPI man might expect to find himself doing in a big bureau back home—checking newspaper editions as they become available, looking through the handouts, being available for telephone calls from stringers, following up on queries. Every now and then you get outside the office to cover a story, but not as often as you would like. There are leased teletype connections between all major European cities, and similar photo networks, just as there are in the U.S. Men working for a wire service, with outlets in many countries, spend a good share of their time developing and writing one point or regional stories that might not be worth a stick of type in any American newspaper but are front page caliber in a neighboring capital or possibly some distant point in Latin America. But every now and then there are compensating adventures—like working the Winter Olympics in the Italian Alps, or following Harry Truman on an Italian visit.

Then there is another category of correspondents—those who live and work outside of these Western areas and occasionally get out in the real boondocks—to interview black African royalty in Uganda, in the heart of the African continent, or for a look-see at an Iranian Moslem shrine city like Meshed in Central Asia near the Soviet and Afghan borders.

This is the kind of correspondent I was for most of the time I was overseas. The problems encountered vary, depending mostly on whether you're working from a headquarters office in some capital like Cairo or Istanbul, or whether you're living out of a suitcase in a hotel room in some place like Addis Ababa or Baghdad.

Wherever a foreign correspondent is, he must somehow have absorbed a good deal of detailed information about the area he is working in—the people, their leaders, history, economic situation, something on their social life, their relations with neighboring countries, and a lot of possibly irrelevant material. How does he get his information? He accumulates it from day to day, over the months and years. He had a start before he came to the area if he had a normal interest and curiosity concerning the world about him. Information comes from books, magazines, daily newspapers, or interests in related areas. If at all possible, a correspondent keeps files on printed material that comes his way, so it will be available for future use. On the job he accumulates information from a wide variety of sources—possibly from an interview with an emperor or prime minister, a translation of a local newspaper article, or in mutual picking of brains with some other correspondent. I might add parenthetically that in a country like Ethiopia, Emperor Haile Selassie usually is the best source for hard news. He is normally available to the correspondent passing through; lesser officials in the Kingdom either don't know or are afraid to talk. This brings up one problem of foreign correspondents not usually covered by the textbooks. How does one act and dress to meet an Emperor? If you do as I did, you borrow the required formal attire from someone at the American Embassy close to your size, and you learn to make three formal bows approaching and

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backing away from the royal throne. The interview was conditioned on the right attire and the bows. Other monarchs like the Shah of Iran and the late King Abdullah of Jordan were more democratic. One could wear a regular business suit—and no bows, unless one wanted to. I chose not to, shocking some locals, probably because of the democratic ideas I picked up in Washington high school and Marquette, here in Milwaukee.

To get back to the art of fact gathering. Information comes from a number of sources—from friendly and cooperative diplomats, from local newsmen, from the man behind the hotel desk, from a fellow in a bar. I got my lead on a good story once—the plan to fly 100,000 Jews back to Israel from Baghdad, where they had been since the days of Nebuchadnezzar—in a Beirut bar. At this point I will comment, as others have before me, that tales of reporters who write beautiful copy with their nose in a bottle are pure fantasy.

Why does a foreign correspondent need to amass a great amount of information? For the same reason as the man covering city hall or Capitol Hill: so he can measure the importance or meaning of current happenings, and put things in perspective. And also so he can't be fooled or hoodwinked as easily.

Let's say that you set up as a foreign correspondent in a place like Cairo. How do you go about it? The AP had an office in Cairo and someone running it before I got there, so there was no need for hiring local assistants, as I have done in other places. There were files in existence, spotty as most such files are, but providing some reference material to start from. I built my own files, including separate ones on the various countries in the area which I could carry with me later. This way you have the most recent developments always at hand.

Part of the routine in a city like Cairo—routine but a goldmine of information—is going through the local Arabic-language papers with someone in the office. A translator fills you in on what he thinks are the important stories of the day. After some experience at this, you may test him out now and then jabbing a finger at a headline and asking "What's

this one?" The office also subscribes to several newspaper translation services and gets delayed translations from some of the embassies. Cairo also has an English-language and several French-language papers. You can go over those, too.

There are local employees in Cairo, some working fulltime in the office, others tipsters who alert you on developments at places like the foreign office or the parliament; these tipsters probably cover the news centers for one of the local papers. That's one part of it.

Then you meet people, as many as you can, calling on them in their offices, or meeting them at receptions, or lunch. Embassy and official cocktail parties are not to be scorned. They help build up good news sources. Local newspaper editors are very helpful for the most part, particularly if you can talk in the same language. Once you get to know people, you can check things out by telephone and save time.

You soon learn to evaluate your news sources—those who'll give it to you straight and those who color their facts for their own purpose. But even the latter group is valuable once you get to know just what viewpoint they are presenting, what weight it has in the community, and the balancing views of the opposition. Every now and then you meet someone who figures you're stupid enough (or unacquainted with the background of a situation) to believe exaggerations or outright lies. Even these people can become good news sources, once they know you can't be fooled. Your stock goes up with any of these groups once you get in a position where you can trade tidbits of information. Eventually your sources learn they can trust you to report accurately and respect a confidence.

There is a problem if you're talking to someone through an interpreter. You've got to get to know and trust your interpreter, too, so that nothing is lost either in your questions or the answers.

It's so obvious that it may be wasted time to mention it. But you can learn a lot about any place, any country, just by using your eyes. For example, I was in Baghdad while the exodus of Jews was underway. I visited some of them in their homes and saw the rough treatment they

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got at the airport with customs guards crunching cakes of soap under their heels to make sure no forbidden jewels were smuggled out. You see with your eyes the bleak existence of those Arab refugees crowded into camps in the Dead Sea Valley and you try to report what they're up against, trapped as they are in the mesh of international politics and intrigues. You view the pageantry of a Christmas in Bethlehem or an Easter in Jerusalem and you try to write it as you see it, so that others will feel it. Many times, because news is news only when it is fresh, you do not do justice to your subject because you are too hurried or too tired. You do the best you can under the circumstances. Sitting in Washington now and looking over the stories from overseas as they appear in print, my opinion is that most represent professional workmanship of the highest order.

Let's get back to that Cairo office again, however, and see how a foreign correspondent would prepare to go to work there. Once the channels are established, the facts are at your command. Now you must decide which to weave into the story to send home. Most of your work is by cable, but situationers and features frequently go by airmail. If you're working for a wire service in Cairo, you know that what is wanted on a spot news story is the hard facts plus the bare minimum of background. Writing, itself, should not present many problems. But there must be a selection of the available and relevant facts to put the story into proper perspective. And this, I maintain, means interpretation of the news. I stress this point because I am one of those who do not think it possible to confine all opinion in a newspaper to its editorial columns. Any selection of facts for a newspaper involves an exercise in opinion or judgment—a conscious choice of which facts to put down and which to weed out. The scope of choice on a police beat story may not be very wide but it is when you get into national or international politics, economics, or some other complex proposition.

Working on a portable typewriter from a hotel room—as opposed to operating from a Cairo office—is another matter, although, after you've made several swings through a place like Nairobi in Kenya or

Tehran in Iran, you will have set up some channels of communication with news sources.

With an organization like AP you find that although you may not be known as an individual, the organization itself is known and respected, even in the most remote places. AP, too, has local stringers in Nairobi, in Tehran, and elsewhere, who provide extremely valuable assistance to the visiting AP staffer, including service as interpreter, guide, and middleman for meeting local officials. No foreign correspondent is ever a stranger any place for that matter. Hotel men everywhere have met their kind before as have the people at the embassies and consulates. My own experience has been that those traveling for a newspaper usually line up beforehand a list of AP or UP stringer contacts in the countries they will visit.

In Nairobi or Tehran, as in Cairo, you use the same general methods for gathering material, although it's more hit and miss. In these places you visit with a suitcase and a portable you follow the local newspapers closely for the current developments. You can assume that any story worth the name normally is known to the local editor. Even though he may represent some special interest you can assume that the local editor writes close to the truth. I have made this assumption on the basis that it would be difficult to mislead local readers who know the facts. It's good to know perhaps what his special interest is.

Communications and travel present their own problems, not to mention the difficulties some encounter with local food and water. I have always boasted of some degree of immunity here, perhaps due to my Milwaukee background.

One side comment. Particularly when one gets off the beaten path, away from the radio-teletype news receiver, it may be difficult at times to keep up with the news in the world outside. Some correspondents solve this by carrying their own portable radios to listen to outside news broadcasts such as those by BBC. The radio may be your first tipoff on some major development in a neighboring country, such as an

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assassination or a coup. And if your business is news, you run when the alarm bell rings.

A foreign correspondent gets around a good deal by plane, and sometimes he rides on airlines using equipment discarded some years ago by the major companies. Amazing perhaps, but even these offbeat lines are safe so far as my experience goes. One may get a little nervous to land on an open piece of ground, after some grazing goats have been run off to the side, or when a pilot loads his passengers at the end of a runway, then turns on the juice and takes off without any warmup; but if you get where you are going without further incident, the procedure becomes more acceptable. Hotels are usually no problem either, even without advance reservation.

Visas are sometimes a problem, however. Every time you cross a border, in the Middle East for example, you need an entry visa, and sometimes an exit permit from the country you are leaving. The visa power is sometimes used to enforce an indirect censorship, with visas granted only to writers who will cause no trouble, to put it in a broad sense. In my crisscrossing of the Middle East I encountered this visa threat only in one country, but I was able to gain entry when I needed to, even after my name reportedly had been put on a black list. I got by a border official once by threatening to telephone a national official in the capital. It was a bluff but it worked. Again, I got on a plane without a visa and apologized after arrival. This happened a few years ago and it may be that my system would not work today because of heightened nationalism. However, most Arabs are the soul of courtesy.

In this connection, there is one fact of life for any foreign correspondent working in the Middle East: if he wants to move about and be accepted in the Arab world, he stays out of Israel. Bitterness runs high. This rule does not apply to correspondents passing through the area on a visit.

Censorship by visa leads us into the broader field of censorship of news cables and outgoing stories. Personally I found little censorship anywhere, and what I did find was more on the ridiculous side than

serious. In my own experience in overseas reporting I do not recall a single time when I was ever effectively blocked from getting out important news in one way or other, although there may have been a delay of 24 hours or so.

My first experience with censorship involved an interview with the late King Abdullah. Later I filed a story describing him as a "bedouin king." The censor deleted the word "bedouin" even though I argued that Abdullah himself boasted of his kinship with these desert tribesmen. The censor was adamant even though I threatened to tell Abdullah on him. On other occasions, in Abdullah's Jordan as well as elsewhere, I filed stories after I left a country that I could not send from the country itself. Usually, no one seemed to notice, or remember.

In Cairo, King Farouk personally used his red (sic) pencil on my cable reporting plans for his marriage to a commoner, eliminating any hints of lavish spending. I was able to convey the impressions I wanted in subsequent pieces which were mailed. Frequently, in Cairo as well as other places, I found there was no censorship of mail even while cables were censored. Telephone communications also were sometimes neglected by the censor, as we shall see. On the subject of Farouk—he gave orders I was not to get the first palace-authorized photos of his bride-to-be which were distributed at a palace press conference. He was still mad at AP for an earlier distribution of an unofficial picture of the girl while their engagement was a hush hush secret; he had stolen her from one of his subjects. But we got copies of the palace pictures anyway and were the first to file them from Cairo by radio. Thus, even attempted censorship of photos can be avoided.

Sometimes it was easier to telephone a story to AP in London for relay than to battle the censor. At the time of the anti-British flareups in the Suez Canal zone in 1951, I was able to phone some important stories through to London without interruption after indications they would not pass cable censorship. One has to recognize, however, when he is treading on thin ice and take the risk only when it is worth it. On that day in Cairo when censorship was the strictest I have ever seen—

that day in early 1952 when mobs set fires all through the central city—I evaded censors most of the day with a series of phone calls to London, dictating stories each time. Censors finally caught up to this leak by nightfall and closed down overseas communications completely. Ironically enough, the only time I got into serious trouble in Egypt—charged with being anti-Egyptian and given three days to clear out of the country—the motivating cause was a simple cable the censor had misinterpreted. It related to the shipment of some films of British families being evacuated from the Canal Zone, and sent on one of the evacuation planes. The expulsion order subsequently was lifted, and I left Egypt after completing the normal tour of duty there.

The actual transmission of a story often presented quite another problem. With a work-a-day story over which there was no competition little difficulty arose. You sent such a story to the cable office expecting it to reach its destination in an hour or two. Trouble came when the story involved some major event and the competition over it became rough. For example, during the Mossadeq nationalization period in Tehran, there were many newsmen and a big press file at the antiquated cable office. Some (probably most) of us paid baksheesh for what we hoped would be priority treatment. Then someone started filing press messages at the “urgent” rate of 50 cents a word. This snowballed until everyone was doing it. Some tried getting around the backedup cable office file by booking daily overseas phone calls to London or some other European capital. This gave birth to other problems. Much of the time the lines were down or unusable. One usually had to wait for the connection, possibly an hour or so. This usually interfered with coverage of developments. Working with only the assistance of a stringer—whose accent could not be understood at the other end—I found the overseas telephone impossible to use most of the time. An interesting side note: At one stage I was instructed by London to cut down on the urgent press cables and use “ordinary press” at half the cost. That day an opposition news service got through on a telephone call timed luckily right after a major news break, beating my ordinary press message on

the same development by some 20 hours. The instructions on urgent filing were revised immediately.

At another stage in the Iranian oil story telephones were a big help to me. It was the day, a historic one in the history of the Empire, that Britain pulled out of Abadan on the Persian Gulf—oil capital of the world. The last oilmen boarded a British cruiser and sailed off down the Shatt el Arab. Reporters on the scene filed in short takes at the only cablehead, a small office in the nationalized plant. Everything moved at “urgent” rates.

Some weeks before, I had discovered that, with patience, I could sometimes get through from Abadan to Tehran over a very shaky phone connection from the Iranian part of Abadan (as opposed to the oil company area). I tried it that day and it worked—the first surprise. Even more amazing was that the AP correspondent in Tehran, Bob Hewett, was at the phone company’s main office with an open line to London at his side. My intention had been to dictate a new lead for morning newspapers, but Hewett advised that none of the “urgent” press, from myself or any of the opposition, had yet reached its destination. So my second day story, some eight hours later, became the first day “bulletin.” It is out of such flimsy stuff that scoops are sometimes built.

Distance is always a problem to anyone not at the scene attempting to cover a major news break. The difficulties are multiplied in an area of nonexistent or poor telephone connections, such as the Middle East, at least during the period I was there. The assassination of a prime minister, which seems to happen more often in the Middle East than elsewhere, is the kind of spot story I mean. In one 12-month period I interviewed and later covered the assassination of three successive prime ministers in Damascus, Syria. (The interview and assassination had no connection, so far as I understand.) Fortunately I was reasonably close by in these three cases. Tipped off initially by radio reports, I wrote from Cairo—several hundred miles away—the stories on the assassination of King Abdullah (killed in Jerusalem) and Prime Minister Riad Solh of Lebanon. Monitored Arabic radio broadcasts and Cairo diplomats

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provided the hard news, and general knowledge of the area and situation enabled me to fill in the background, even at some distance. Sometimes distance is insurmountable. For example, I was once asked to check from Cairo on the reported death of the Sheikh of Kuwait, one of the world's richest men. To the man on the cable desk it probably seemed a reasonable request, since Kuwait is only a few inches from Cairo on the office map. (It's really about 500 miles.) But Kuwait then had no radio or telephone connections with the outside world, cables were extremely irregular, and plane connections impossible.

Some overseas correspondents today, it's worth noting, do a good job of covering a region from a capital city. Some use Hong Kong or Singapore, for example, to report on China and all of vast South East Asia. In some cases correspondents now interpret developments in Africa or the Middle East from a cablehead in Cyprus or Rome, putting flesh on the bare bones of the hard news. It's a legitimate type of reporting if the man doing the job travels through his area often enough to keep current.

There's one problem common to all reporters, and that is getting both sides of a story. This presents difficulties at times to the foreign correspondent. For example, I covered the Mau Mau story in Kenya on two separate trips there, but I never got the Mau Mau side of the story; neither did anyone else. One could attempt to present the Mau Mau viewpoint, as expressed by others with varying degrees of sympathy for their cause, but no one ever talked to the Mau Mau. They lived like hunted beasts, hidden in the forest and jungle and unavailable to the foreign correspondent. The only ones I ever saw were in a courtroom, on trial, or in a detention camp, under guard.

You do the best you can in circumstances like that. In their press communiques the British in Kenya, as in the Suez Canal Zone, referred to the natives who were rebelling against their rule as "terrorists." The natives looked on themselves as patriots. I compromised and changed the word to guerrilla fighters, and I guess others did the same. I tried to get a glimpse of the Mau Mau by going on guided tours through so-

called "infested areas." I also attended formal court trials, before a judge wearing a powdered wig, of some of the Mau Mau fighters charged under Kenya's emergency laws. This helped some, and I must confess they were not a very sympathetic lot. But the British court clerk hesitated when I asked to see the records of past Mau Mau cases. I had to put my request in writing before he produced them (with an implied threat I would write a story about it if he refused). To this day I'm not sure he didn't pull out some case files he didn't want me to see; I suspected then that he did.

There were similar difficulties trying to get into the apartheid story in South Africa. One could get the government viewpoint (representing the Boers) and the British settler viewpoint easily, but it was not so easy to get the blacks to talk to you. It was not impossible, however. One could attend street corner rallies, for example, in the native location of Sophiatown, bordering on Johannesburg. And it was possible to arrange an interview with Albert Luthuli, former Zulu chief who has been leader of the African National Congress for a number of years. Last reports indicate he is again in exile and unavailable.

Let me cite a few other problems that presented themselves.

One is the problem of getting obligated to one party in a dispute. In Iran, the Anglo-Iranian Oil company, which was controlled by the British Government as chief stockholder, operated the only decent hotel accommodations in Abadan, a stifling hot place on the Persian Gulf. AIOC ran an air-conditioned guest house, which was thrown open to correspondents, free of charge. Even the meals and drinks were free. Any stiff-necked independent could go into the native town if he chose to and sleep in a sweltering local hotel with no air conditioning, lousy food, highly suspect water, and inadequate plumbing. I don't know of a single one who did (although I recall reports that a Tass man did). For one thing, taxis to carry you between the native town and the press headquarters and prime news source at the AIOC office were almost nonexistent. (AIOC, it should also be noted, provided free company transportation within reasonable distances at the beckoning of a finger.)

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AIOC also offered access to the most efficient cablehead—at Basrah, in Iraq, right across the river from Abadan. AIOC arranged a courier to carry press messages twice daily to Basrah, and verified correspondents' collect filing authority to cable office officials there if that was necessary.

With all this, one might think AIOC influenced the copy going out of Abadan. I suspected sometimes that copy from the more favored correspondents (in the sense of purveying AIOC views) sometimes got on top of the heap, but in the course of several stays at Abadan I was able to report the story as I saw it. And the AIOC motor transport took me, whenever I asked, to the Iran government's telephone office in town, over which AIOC had no control—although they suspected the service was not too reliable.

It may be more difficult overseas than at home to cover a fast-breaking story like a disaster, as a result of some of the difficulties we've been discussing.

An American commercial airliner crashed into the desert outside Cairo while I was stationed there. There had to be a quick choice—going yourself to the disaster scene or sending someone else. I sent someone from the office. The UP bureau chief in Cairo went himself. It turned out to be a trek of several hours into the desert, mostly by car over a rough trail, the last few hundred yards on foot, over hot desert sand. The man I sent did a very good job. He spoke Arabic and could talk to the local officials who had rushed out. He was able to phone the facts in so I could write them. The UP man came back from the trip exhausted; It must have been difficult for him to write anything. At any rate we scored on the story, from a competitive viewpoint, partly because, while both were enroute to the scene, we in the AP office kept busy phoning to all possible sources for information. We missed out on one angle of the story—the fact that all on the plane (I believe it was around 80) were dead. The lesson here concerns language difficulties abroad. Someone in my office got a nearby police official on the phone, but on a very poor connection. We could establish the fact that so many bodies had been recovered, but lost the connection before we could ascertain

that all aboard were lost. One reason was that we were slowed down by the three-way conversation, involving myself and an office interpreter not aware of the news values involved.

Another disaster was the collision and sinking of a Turkish submarine in the Turkish straits with more than 90 aboard. Only the few who had been on deck survived. The Turks are a friendly and courageous people but their officials are extremely reticent about divulging any information, particularly on military subjects. And this was a Turkish navy submarine. There was no thought at all here of rushing to the scene. There was nothing to see except some hopeless rescue efforts, and we were covered on that by a stringer who worked on one of the local papers.

Here, too, it was a case of getting on a telephone and calling all possible sources. Fortunately, a diplomat I knew who had access to what was going on was a frustrated newsman at heart, and gave me quick fillins throughout the day. Local stringers are invaluable on a story like this because they are able to squeeze information out of sources an outsider can't touch. The thing to remember here is that such stringer setups must be in existence to be of any value when lightning strikes. And that is one of the problems, or part of the routine, of a foreign correspondent.

Each country, each story presents its own peculiar problems, and there is no set solution that can be learned from others or from books. The best advice is play it by ear and muddle through—above all write fast to meet your deadline and give you more time to collect further facts. I don't think any newsman can afford to be a slow, deliberate writer unless he's turning out articles for the Sunday pages.

Part of the overall problem is the difficulty of seeing the whole picture. No one ever sees it all. Personal observation, personal knowledge is limited. One does the best one can with the facts that can be dug out.

There are big and complex stories like the cold war. Hark back to that AP list of the 10 big stories last year and you'll see that the cold

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war was involved in most. I think all of us must learn as much as we can about the cold war because it's an integral part of so many stories, particularly those confronting a foreign correspondent day in and day out.

In a lesser sense, international oil is a big and complex subject, involving big business, big power diplomacy, and nationalism. And the cold war, too.

The Iran story during the time of Mossadeq had overtones of both the cold war and oil—one reason it was such a fascinating one to cover. Before leaving the subject of Iran let me cite one more instance of the importance of cultivating news sources. President Eisenhower wrote Mossadeq a personal letter warning that the United States would give no more dollars to the Iran economy unless Iran got its oil wells running again. It was a major development. A reliable Iranian source, carefully cultivated for months, helped me here. My story was exclusive, later confirmed by the White House. The aftermath in Tehran was that Mossadeq fired his two confidential secretaries, complaining he had guarded the letter so closely he had not even put it in his bedroom safe, but slept with it under his pillow.

* * *

How does a foreign correspondent work in this country?

If he has a good command of English his problems are probably fewer here than an American's overseas. Communications and travel are minor problems at most and news sources in Washington and elsewhere in the United States are probably more outspoken than anywhere else.

It's even easier for someone like myself, covering Washington for overseas newspapers, because it's my country, it's my language and I had previous experience covering the capital before going overseas. I knew something about newsbeats in Washington and have developed sources of my own, particularly among foreign diplomats. There are goldmines of official information available in Washington if you know where to dig.

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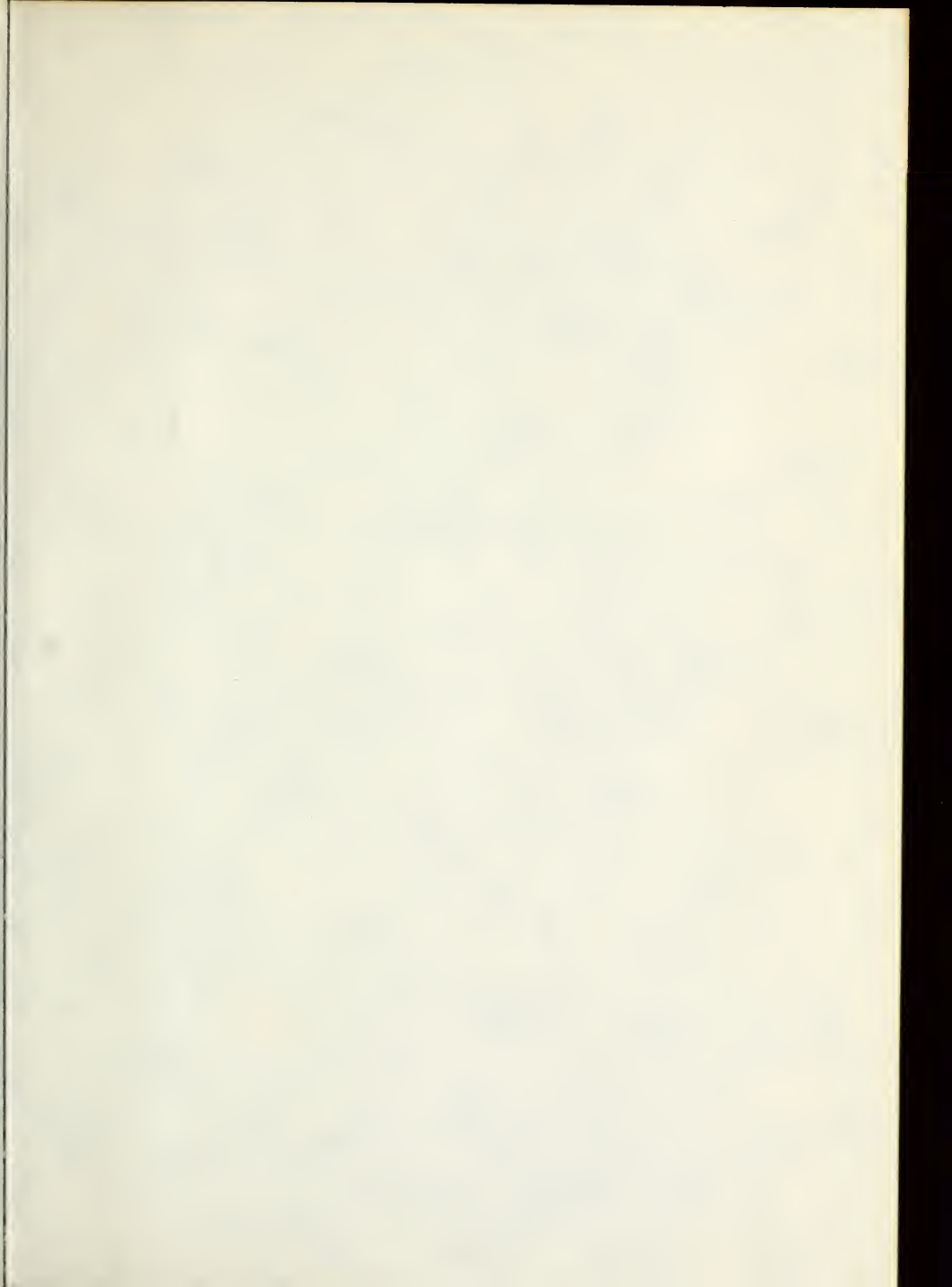
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The chief question I'm asked is whether I can write without any restraint—will the papers print it? I can answer the first part affirmatively, but I know that sometimes I'm wasting my time because a story with which the paper should be concerned, will not be printed. For that reason, I sometimes don't waste my time in attempting to develop a story, but usually I let the editor be the judge.

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